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Rome, the Ecumenical Council and the Orthodox Church

1. POSSIBILITIES AND IMPOSSIBILITIES'

REV. ALEXANDER SCHMEMANN

The Papal announcement of the Ecumenical Council was made in terms so general that any comment on it is more or less hypothetical. Exactly what will be on the agenda of the Council? Who will be in charge of the preparation? Who, among the leading Roman Catholic theologians will formulate its theological "terms of reference"? Will there be preliminary schemes or drafts of resolutions as was the case at the Vatican Council of 1869-70? With no answers to these and many other questions, we are reduced to mere speculations. And yet, a reaction of Orthodox theology, even at this early stage, is not only possible but positively necessary. Whether an invitation or an offer is to come from Rome or not, whether its general tenure is acceptable or not, a clarification of our own position regarding Roman Catholicism has long been overdue. Among the Orthodox there is much confusion and a lack of serious theological understanding of the whole problem. We have those, on the one hand, for whom all that is "Roman" must be simply and totally rejected as such. These systematic "anti-Catholics" sincerely believe that Orthodoxy is "closer" to Protestantism, considered as our natural "ally" against Rome — which is wrong both historically and theologically. On the other hand, we have those who with equal sincerity think that the only difference between us and Roman Catholicism is the doctrine of Papacy, who do not understand all the spiritual and theological dimensions of our division. One must add that Orthodox theology, whose normal duty as theology is to clarify the issues, has not always been free from these exaggerated polemical attitudes and purely formal and superficial approaches to Roman "heresies", with no real analysis or evaluation of their theological presuppositions and implications. Therefore what we need today is an extensive, sober and consistent evaluation of Roman Catholicism taken as a whole, a study of its spiritual and theological "ethos". For it is not by repeatedly pointing out the "crimes" and the defects of the Papacy in the past, as if it were not possible to list a few of our own historical failures, or the deviations of Roman piety, as if again, everything was perfectly normal and sound in our own Church, that we will prove anything. We must neither overlook nor underestimate the fact of

genuine renaissance — that takes place today in the Roman Church, of a deep and in many respects admirable theological renovation, liturgical movement, spiritual revival. In all this, there is a far greater degree of self-criticism, re-evaluation of the past and free rethinking of historical development than we can find within Orthodoxy. Therefore when repeating the same old accusations, the same oversimplified polemics, we can easily "miss the point"No doubt, from a purely human point of view, it is difficult to forget the long and painful sequence of violence and injustices, of forced "unias" and "conversions", humiliations and abuses. And yet, bad as they are, these facts in themselves do not constitute the real essence of the division. They are its consequence, not its cause. Our God is the God of forgiveness, and whatever the human difficulties, we, as Christians, must be capable of forgiving. Human sins are weaknesses and are not the monopoly of one denomination. A great need exists today for a new, fresh air in Christianity in general, for a great spiritual effort to overcome the human and sinful "coefficient" of the Christian past. Do not the problems of old national quarrels and competitions poison the Orthodox Church even today and prevent her from fulfilling the unity of faith in the unity of love? Are we free from mutual distrust, jurisdictional ambitions, pride and in general, from "the human-much too human" to quote Nietzsche? But if, in spite of all this, we claim and confess that the Orthodox Church has preserved unaltered, the fulness of faith and the purity of the Apostolic Tradition, then it is within the context of, and in reference to, this fulness that we must evaluate what constitutes for us the essence of the Roman Schism. In other terms, from the emotional, historical, cultural and all the other roots of our "anti-Romanism", we must go back to the only real, the only valid one: **the doctrinal**.... Unity, reunion, conversion — for the Orthodox all these terms can mean but one thing — agreement in faith, unity in dogma. During the last fifty years, when the Orthodox Church came into closer contact with the Christian West through the ecumenical movement, the Orthodox theologians had on many occasions refined and stressed the Orthodox concept of the unity of the Church as based primarily on the unity of faith and tradition. They have consistently rejected the two "temptations": that of a doctrinal "minimum" and that of an institutional or "jurisdictional" unity without real agreement in dogma. When applied to Rome, this position means that no discussion of reunion is conceivable unless it implies all the doctrinal issues, all the points of divergence that have accumulated

since 1054. Their list is well known: Filioque, Immaculate Conception, Infallibility of the Pope, Purgatory, the doctrine of Grace and justification to mention but the most important ones. Some of them have been proclaimed by Rome as being "de fide", i. e. an integral part of tradition, some as still "proxima fidei", but from the Orthodox point of view, they are all equally unacceptable, at least in their present formulations and interpretations and must be either rejected or be reinterpreted in terms which "ubique, semper et ad omnibus" were received and understood as the Catholic language of the Church.

But it is at this point that the crucial question must be raised: does such a position leave any **possibility** of a new encounter, any hope for agreement and understanding? Has not everything been said and repeated on both sides? Were not both positions crystallized during these nine hundred years spent in separation, conflict and controversies? If on both sides, the idea of doctrinal compromise is condemned as contradicting the very nature of the Church, do not the very terms of "agreement", "re-evaluation" etc. seem peculiarly out of order, a product of wishful thinking with no roots in reality? Rather than possibility would not "impossibility" be the adequate word for anyone who wants to be realistic and responsible?

At first, one is certainly tempted to answer these questions in the affirmative. Humanly speaking, the situation is not only difficult, it is a real impasse. And yet, it is not only an irresponsible optimism, a hope against all hope that makes us couple the word "Impossibility" with "Possibility". What then is possible?

First of all, there is a possibility of a new theological dialogue. For it is not true that "everything has been said." In fact, paradoxical as it may seem, there has been no real dialogue, no real discussion of faith between the East and Rome, or at any rate, this discussion was interrupted at its very beginning. The last direct theological encounter took place in Florence, in 1438 — but we know today that the auspices there were bad: the Turks were too close to Constantinople, and the West much too ignorant of the Eastern tradition, much too confident in its own achievements and strength. The innumerable volumes of confessional polemics written on both sides since then were even not meant to be a dialogue. There have been two monologues, expressed in two different theological languages, with completely different "terms of reference". There was a war with victories and defeats, sanctions, attacks, propaganda and infiltrations. There was a spirit of war. And if one cannot say that this spirit has alto-

ther disappeared today, still, it would not be an exaggeration to affirm that a new spirit, precisely a spirit of dialogue, of honest theological confrontation, of constructive dogmatical encounter has also made its appearance and slowly but surely is gaining ground. Its origin is most certainly to be found in that great movement of "resourcement", of a return to the real sources: the Bible, the Fathers, the Liturgy which has deeply marked the theological life of both the Orthodox Church and the Roman West in the last fifty years, but which was more badly needed in the West, for it meant the recovery of those dimensions of Tradition, whose almost total absence in the Latin Medieval Christianity, made Rome blind and deaf to the real life and the "mind" of the Orthodox East. The change may seem small and its results out of proportion with the enormous difficulties accumulated in the past. Yet one should never underestimate the power of ideas... A new dialogue has begun. And what is being recovered is precisely the common language, the common ground of tradition. For if the Schism was prepared by a long theological and spiritual alienation of the West from the East, it is only through the restoration of the "catholic mind" and the "catholic language" of the Church that "reunion" may be prepared. No one can foresee the future. Quick and spectacular achievements are not to be expected. No room exists for cheap and superficial optimism; but there is room for hope, prayer and work.



2. SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE POSSIBILITY OF A UNION BETWEEN THE ORTHODOX AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCHES

NICHOLAS ARSENIEV

A union of the Churches can be achieved only if there exists already a certain union, nay even more than that, if in what is the most essential, the most central we are already united: if we are already united in Christ, in our life in Christ. In religion (true religion), there are always two sides: the Divine Reality and the human participation therein, the human approach to it. If we, Christians, differ to a certain extent in our ways of appropriating the salvation brought to us, in our ways of approaching the Holy, these divergences are often of great importance. On the other hand, we are often — and ought to be more often — one in the Divine Object, the Divine Goal, to which we are tending, more than that — in the Divine Love, revealed in the “Son of His Love”, that takes hold of us. “The love of Christ takes hold of us” (*synechei hemas*, II Cor. 5:14) says St. Paul.

On the summits of sanctity this becomes in a very high degree manifest. Here only two examples: St. Francis of Assisi was during his last death-sickness disabled by his sore eyes from reading. One of his brothers offered to read to him aloud from the Holy Scripture. We know, how deeply Francis loved and venerated the Gospels and that the first rules of his brotherhood were mainly a recopying of the words of Christ addressed to the apostles when He sent them out on their missionary journey. Now what did Francis answer the brother? “*Non pluribus indigeo, fili: scio Christum pauperum, crucifixum*” — “don’t read to me now (although he delighted in the Scriptures!), “I don’t need much now, my son: I know Christ as poor and crucified.” So his mind was permanently concentrated on the Crucified Lord and did not require anything else. Here the plenitude was given.

A similar story is told us by John Moschus in his Greek 5th century book “The Spiritual Meadows”, containing tales of fathers and hermits of Palestine and Syria. There was in a monastery a monk Stephen, very aged and of holy life. Once some younger monks entered his cell to ask his spiritual advice, but he did not heed their coming. Again they said: “We are here, Father, tell us something salutary”, and again there was no answer. And at last he spoke to them in the following way. “Oh, you are here. What can I tell you? I have

nothing to tell you — save one thing: the whole time that you were in my cell I could not detach my mind's eye from Jesus Christ hanging on the Cross.”¹⁾

We are in both cases reminded of Paul's words: “I have decided to know nothing except Christ and Him crucified.” (I Cor. 2,2).

That is the centre of all: the love of Christ, that takes hold of us, urges us to unite.

II

The appeal of Pope John XXIII for Christian unity, an appeal that corresponds to the intense desire of many Christians, has therefore so profoundly moved our hearts. It was in a way a real psychological and moral commotion taking hold of the Christian world. The love of Christ that “takes hold of us” (synechei hemas) urged Pope John XXIII to make his appeal and urges us all. Our unity in Christ which is now to a great part invisible because of our divergences must become manifest more and more. We must grow into Unity with each other: “One Body and one Spirit... one Lord, one faith, one baptism — one God and Father of all.” (Ephes. 4, 4-6).

In the present most important historical moment we must be clearly aware of a **double responsibility**. We do not have the right to simply stand aloof, disregarding the need for unity, disregarding this appeal that concerns the whole of Christianity. No one of us has the right to preclude himself in a rigid self-satisfied indifference to the moral and spiritual needs and problems of the surrounding world, to his desire and cry for Christian Unity. We do not have the right to be like self-sufficient mighty stone-blocks near the road, full of indifference and disdain for the life that surrounds them.

On the other hand, we are **bound** by our conscience, we must bear witness to our faith, we cannot give up what we consider to be the true apostolic legacy, the true apostolic tradition. We are bound to be faithful to it not for our own sake only, but for the sake of the whole Christian World.

How can one combine these two attitudes? But they **must** be combined, this is our duty as Christians, as Christians belonging to the Eastern Orthodox Church.

¹⁾ I am retelling the story with my own words — save for the last decisive words of Stephen.

But the path to reunion, even a preliminary approach to the problem of reunion is, as we see, beset with difficulties.

III

There are many ways to approach our subject — the preparation for a future possible union of Churches. I will stress first one way of approach which might be called to a certain extent technical although it is closely related to the most important and leading issues that unhappily divide the Churches.

The dogmatic definition of the Vatican council concerning Papal infallibility and the rights of the Papal See are, in some very important formulas, liable to rather different interpretations, even among Roman Catholic theologians: much more is the case in regard to the Orthodox! These definitions not only present many very fundamental difficulties to the Orthodox mind, but often they are simply not fully understood by the Orthodox as to their real meaning. What do the words "ex sese et non ex consensu ecclesiae" really mean? Can they mean that if there is a difference of opinion between the whole Body of the Church on one side and the Pope on the other, the Pope is always right (when he is speaking "ex cathedra") — even if he is against the whole Body of the Church, and that he does represent the Truth not in his quality of the leading member of the Church that speaks Her mind through him, but independently of the Church? Or does this formula mean only that the Pope speaks out (when speaking "ex cathedra") the mind of the Church which is guided by the Spirit of God and that he is on these occasions the true and most authentic and authoritative representative of the Mind of the Church, as guided by the Spirit of Truth, and that no special decision or solemn utterance of the Church is therefore every time necessary to the purpose, but that always, when he is speaking "ex cathedra" he "ipso facto" represents the Church as guided by the Spirit of Truth?

The difference between these two possible interpretations of the formula "ex sese...." is very great.

Further, when does the Pope speak "ex cathedra"? The Vatican definition is: "When he defines a doctrine in his character as Pastor and Doctor of all Christians" (... cum omnium Christianorum pastoris et doctoris munere fungo... doctrinam ... definito). When does this take place? Is a solemn encyclica of a Pope already by its solemn

preamble a clear unmistakable and permanent indication that the Pope is speaking here... *ex cathedra*?

There are, of course, many subtle and penetrating discussions on this subject by many leading Catholic Theologians². But the Orthodox would like to deal with a quite clear and unmistakable statement on this subject. Until this statement is made in an unmistakably clear way the **degree** of disagreement between the Orthodox and Roman Catholics in relation to the Vatican dogma is not quite clear.

My suggestion would be: could not the Roman Catholic Church meet beforehand in order to define the unfinished, "Constitutio de Ecclesia" (of which only the section "De Papa" was formulated during the Vatican Council) — so continuing the unfinished work of the Vatican Council of 1869/70 and thereby providing the necessary background and context to the section concerning the powers of the Holy See? This would be a way to make the existing definitions more lucid and to subordinate them to a greater complex — the Doctrine of the Body of Christ which is the Church?

This would help us immensely in our brotherly discussions. Perhaps we would discover that in this question we are not so far from each other as we thought to be (or that we are perhaps further from one another than we thought — but this last thing will probably not happen).

And then comes the even more important way to approach (but not excluding the "technical" and the "discursive" ones) — that which we could call the "mystical" one: the being taken and laid hand upon by the "Love of Christ transcending all understanding." This can be achieved by the power of Grace.

We should all pray for this gift and this assistance of the Grace of God.

2) So e. g. less than two decades after the Vatican council Professor Franz Hettinger of the Roman Catholic Theological Faculty of the University of Würzburg gives the following answer to the much debated question: how can we know, whether the Pope has spoken "*ex cathedra*" or not? — "In dieser Controverse entscheidet die Kirchliche Übereinstimmung, die gemeinsame Lehre der Theologen und besonders die Handlungsweise der Kirche selbst." i. e.: in this controversy decisive is the common teaching of the theologians and especially the way of action of the Church." ("Die kirchliche Vollgewalt des Apostolischen Stuhles", 2th Aufl. Freiburg i.Br., Herder, 1887, p. 137). This definition comes rather near to Khomiakov's teaching about the "reception" by the whole of the Church.

A preliminary talk on a "very high level" between some leading representatives of the Eastern Orthodox and the Roman Catholic Church might perhaps prepare the way — both for the "technical" (and "discursive") and the "mystical" approach to this work of mutual brotherly understanding and of growing nearer together.



*The Zoe Movement in Greece**

REV. DEMETRIOS J. CONSTANTELOS

"Zoe" means life, and the Zoe Movement is nothing less. It is life, a life of the spirit, a new life within the Greek Orthodox Church and probably a unique one in the Christian World. It is a movement of approximately fifty years of age. The Zoe Movement is expressed through various channels and organizations which comprise it. The Movement is known as "Zoe" after the name of the Brotherhood of Theologians Zoe, which constitutes the nucleus of the movement as a whole. However, the formal name for the movement is "The Coöperating Christian Societies of St. Paul."

Of course, to give in a few minutes a faithful and a detailed account of a spiritual movement, its history, its characteristics, its influence and especially the presence of the Holy Spirit within it is an impossible task. So we will confine ourselves to the discussion of the basic elements of this Movement.

The whole Zoe Movement is strictly and ardently Orthodox. It is a living part of the Orthodox Church and proclaims the message of the Orthodox Christian Faith which is unchanged in Greece since the first churches were founded there by Saint Paul. This does not mean that the Movement faces the other Christian churches without love or with bigotry. It can be said that the people in Greece are invariably friendly and tolerant, kind and courteous towards others. The Greek Orthodox Christians work and pray fervently for the ultimate unity of all Christians.

The Christian Movement of "Zoe" is characterized by the absence of centralized power and of glorification of personalities; it is not considered a personal creation of outstanding leaders. The work is done anonymously, methodically, noiselessly. This has permitted the purely Christocentric spirit to be present everywhere; it also has protected the Movement from degeneration caused by dependence on personalities and from the loss, through time, of the original spirit. Although most of those who founded it have died, none of the main characteristics of the Movement have changed.

* This brief talk was delivered before the "Urban Priest Group" of the Episcopal Church at the Cathedral House of St. John the Divine, New York, on January 14, 1959.

Despite the large membership of the Movement, it should be emphasized that the screening for acceptance of a regular member is unusually strict. A prospective member should not only have professed his decision for Christ, but also he must have proven it both by living a totally Christian life and by witnessing to his beliefs, often under difficult circumstances. A program of training, Bible study and Christian activities is invariably a part of a member's life.

The Movement accepts no contributions from individuals or organizations outside of itself because of the necessity of remaining independent and avoiding any implications. There are enough internal resources within the Christian Movement of Greece to provide for all its needs.

1. THE ZOE BROTHERHOOD OF THEOLOGIANS

We pointed out in our introduction that this Movement emanates from the Brotherhood of Theologians "Zoe". This brotherhood was established by the Saintly Father Eusebius Matthopoulos back in 1911. Its members, amounting to about 130 at the present time, are graduates of Theology and some of them hold one or more other degrees. These people live in a monastic community exercising the three principles of monastic life. However, no one is forced to stay in the brotherhood in case he decides to enter family life. They work in cooperation with and also within the Orthodox Church of Greece. All these members, of whom only 34 are ordained clergymen, have accepted the principle not to seek high offices in the church and to refuse any offered to them. The brotherhood's main aim and purpose is the teaching of the Gospel of Christ, according to the Orthodox interpretation, to all classes of the Greek people. They try to penetrate every class of people through the oral and the written word of God, to find and at the same time, train workers who will be able and willing to create a living Christian movement all over Greece and wherever Greeks are to be found. In order to succeed in its ultimate purpose, the brotherhood has made use of various means and it has established a number of organizations with an analogous function.

Since 1911 the theologians of "Zoe" have been publishing their own periodical issued once a week. Today it has more than 170,000 subscribers. It has the greatest circulation of all other newspapers and magazines published in the Greek language. Its great circulation is due to its interesting, contemporary and especially edifying articles on the one hand, and on the other, to its exceptionally low price.

A year's subscription is 20 drachmai, that is 60 cents. Alongside this periodical the publication of books and pamphlets is one of the most effective means of "Zoe's" missionary work. The books which are published by "Zoe" have attracted the respect and love of the Orthodox peoples. They also have the widest circulation of all other books and editions. Besides the Scriptures "Zoe" has published in a period of 50 years many books of theological and religious content. They have covered almost every field of Christian and social literature. Novels, educational books, social books, musical books, theological books and other books of Christian culture, for children, young people, parents, teachers, intellectuals, scientists, will be found among "Zoe's" publications. It must be stated that all these publications have the one common feature of being "Christocentric." Directly or indirectly they proclaim and teach about Christ. Greece might be one of the very few countries, if not the only one, where religious or rather Christian literature, in any form, has a great circulation than that of any other type.

Since 1929, the Brotherhood has been publishing the Scriptures in various forms and editions. The publication of the Old Testament filled a great vacuum and today it has been printed in several editions. The various low-priced editions of the New Testament have left an indelible mark on the people and culture of Greece. The New Testament published by "Zoe" numbers today 32 editions with about 650,000 copies. The publication of the Scriptures was accompanied by a special series of voluminous commentaries on all the books of the New Testament, except the book of Revelation. The circulation of "Zoe's" books is really indicative of the acceptance of Zoe by the Greek people. Many of their books number many editions. For example, "The Destiny of Man" by the founder of the Brotherhood, Father Eusebius Matthopoulos, has been published in nine editions. "Repentance" written by Father Seraphin Papacostas, the successor of Fr. Matthopoulos, has come out in twelve editions. A few of "Zoe's" publications have been translated into Bulgarian, Serbian, French and English. The illustrated novels for children — a series of 21 novels — have a tremendous circulation. They came out in sixty-one editions with a total of 1,000,000 copies. Another series of popularized doctrine, faith and ethics under the general title "Religion and life" has, up to this day come out in seven pamphlets with a circulation of more than 1,300,000 copies. The Brotherhood is also interested in the cultivation and teaching of the Byzantine music, the official

music of the Orthodox Church. In this field "Zoe" has published a series of twenty-three books of musical composition and performance.

In brief the publishing effort of "Zoe" is practiced side by side with oral preaching and instruction. The whole publishing effort of "Zoe" has been enormous and its influence in the lives of countless thousands cannot be overestimated.

Since 1929, the evangelistic emphasis of the Brotherhood has been centered upon the youth. This work is carried on through catechetical or Sunday Schools. Under the direction of "Zoe" a total number of more than 2,100 Sunday Schools function all over Greece. The total number of Sunday Schools of Greece is 7,800. The number of pupils, boys and girls, who attend these schools under the direction of "Zoe" amount to more than 150,000. The best boys and girls of the Sunday Schools, the ones with a better appreciation of the Christian faith and a more matured Christian mind, are chosen and they make up the inner circle of the Sunday Schools known as the Christian Pupil's Groups. The aim of these groups is to propagate the mission of the Sunday Schools on the one hand and, on the other, to pursue the general education and edifying recreation of their members, so that they may one day become the main staff of the Christian Movement. Summer camps are organized in various parts of Greece for the members of the Christian Pupil's Groups and for Sunday School students in general.

The Brotherhood of "Zoe" has realized that in order to have successful Sunday Schools it must first have trained catechists, teachers and group-leaders. So "Zoe" has a special school for Sunday School teachers who receive religious education themselves. Many of these students are chiefly students of theology, literature and education. "Zoe" has at the present time eight hostels which give young men and women the opportunity of studying together, living and eating together, worshipping together and preparing themselves for Christian and social work. Four of these hostels are for young men and four for young women. More than 800 students of various schools live in these hostels. The life in these institutions is exemplary.

It is to be noted that "Zoe" is carrying out its work by its own means and it does not accept gifts or subsidies from anywhere. The members of this Brotherhood offer the labor of their missionary work, conscious of the responsibility of their calling by God for the establishment of His Kingdom upon the earth.

"Zoe" has been the most successful missionary society in Greece and most probably in the whole world for many reasons. The life of "Zoe" brothers is wholly Christian, sober and exemplary. They have dedicated their lives in word and in action to the service of God. "Everything for the glory of Christ" was the lifelong motto of "Zoe's" founder, Father Eusebius Matthopoulos. With the same motto the Brotherhood continues its work in the vineyard of the Lord "that the word of God may have free course, and be glorified."

2. CHRISTIAN UNION OF PROFESSIONAL MEN

After the first world war the need was felt to win the intellectuals of Greece from the field of materialism to the cause of Christ. It was necessary to strike at the root of the evil that was done by the negation of the spiritual values during the past centuries. "Zoe" took the initiative and with its help and support the "Christian Union of Scientists and Professional Men" was organized. At the beginning it had only 20 members. Today there are 1,450, many of whom are leading figures in the scientific, economic, cultural and educational life of Greece. There are no professional theologians among them. In 1938, this organization began publishing its official periodical "Aktines" (light rays). Today "Aktines" is one of the leading magazines of Greece in the arts and letters. It has a circulation of more than fifteen thousand copies. The main objectives of this periodical have been to reveal under the light of modern trends and research the downward trend of materialism as a cosmotheory, and prove that the negation of the spiritual and religious values is mostly responsible for the evils of today. "Aktines", under the guidance of the Christian principles points out that the way to rebuild our individual and national life is none other than the application of the teachings of Christ.

The periodical's wide circulation among the educated people of Greece is not the only sign of the success of this organization. In 1946, two hundred and twenty Greek intellectuals, one hundred and sixty of them University Professors or Professors of University Standard, signed a "Declaration" which was widely circulated among the Greek people. The content of this Declaration was expanded in a manifesto published by the Christian Union of Professional Men, which in book form sold 100,000 copies within one month. To get an idea of the impression created by this manifesto, suffice it to mention the impact it has had on the Communist Party of Greece and on all publications affiliated with it. The Communist leaders, enraged on seeing

that their whole theoretical foundation was shaken, had their party's Secretary General deliver a three-hour speech to the students and the intellectuals of the party, criticizing them severely for "having slept 'like the foolish virgins' while their enemies were working under their very shade against the foundations of their existence as a party."

The members of this organization of the "Zoe" movement during the German-Italian and Bulgarian occupation and the war against International Communism (for such was the war of Greece between 1945-1949), sent out various "messages" in order to support the morale of the fighting nation. Members of this organization have given, and are still giving lectures and talks on subject according to their specialty and in the light of the Christian world-view. Such activities are organized in Athens and other towns and villages all over Greece with the cooperation and help of local organizations. Lectures adopted to the nature of the audience are also given at factories, institutions, prisons, schools, military academies and army units, as well as in open air meetings. A special group called "The friends of the rural people" deals with problems of agricultural life.

The members of this union publish a second magazine called "The World of the Greek Woman" with a circulation of more than 6,500 copies.

All of these activities and Bible study, bolstered by the study of the works of the distinguished Professor Alexander Tsiridanis, most important of which is "Towards A Christian Civilization", develop the personality of the union members so that they become the spiritual leaders, both in the professional and social field, leaders who will guide the nation towards a true Christian civilization.

3. THE DAMASCUS PUBLICATIONS

"Damascus" is the publishing effort in the cultural field of the Cristian Work of which "Aktines" from a part. At the beginning "Damascus" was simply an experiment in research into the various problems and possibilities which each one of human endeavor had to offer. For "Damascus" was not staffed with professional publishers but with men of science, members of the Christian Union of Professional Men who devoted to the publishing work of "Damascus" what spare time they had out of their professional work. Today, a few years after its incorporation, "Damascus" has brought out more than 40 publications including: (1) Poetry inspired by either the

recent battles of Greece or by the noble and inconspicuous battles of the human soul towards its way to perfection, or by other subjects of Christian Civilization. Poetry for children has not been overlooked and has been very successful. (2) Short Stories and Novels — collections of short stories and novels were published including translation of such works as Lloyd Douglas' "The Robe", etc. (3) Books of Classical and Devotional Content among which is I. Holzner's "Paul" and Guardini's "The Lord." The publication of these books has been an excellent success and has provided a spiritual relish for thousands of readers in Greece. (4) Books of Science and Philosophy among which "Towards a Christian Civilization" mentioned above, should be specially mentioned. This book, now available in English, constitutes the "magna carta" of the work carried on by the Christian Union of Professional Men and other branches of the Christian movement in Greece and expresses the main principles and the basic problems involved in the future realization of a truly Christian civilization. "Damascus" however has not restricted itself to publishing work only. Another important sector of its endeavors has been the spiritual training of new contributors and Christian writers. For this purpose a special organization of young men, mostly of academic training, has been formed in order that their talents may be cultivated within an atmosphere of respect towards Christianity and spiritual values. This group has from the beginning been a great success and justifies every hope for the future.

THE STUDENT CHRISTIAN UNION

The Student Christian Union is another important organization of the "Zoe" Movement. It was founded in 1945 and it comprises as members students of both sexes of the Universities, of the Polytechnic School, of the School of Commercial and Economic Studies, and of the other Schools of higher education of the State. The Student Christian Union was known from 1933 to 1945 as the "Academic Social Association." Since the war and after the liberation the Student Christian Movement has been placed on a new basis; it has been greatly developed and now constitutes the most important Student Movement in Greece. The "Academic Social Association" started its work with a few dozens of students, and now the members of the Association in Athens, Salonica and Patras number 2400. This number shows an increase in membership of nearly 95 % in comparison with the figures of the academic year 1948-49.

Beside these students who are specially interested in an active way in the work of the Union, 3000 other students attend its meetings and its special lectures which have proven to be a considerable help for students in getting them more intimately acquainted with Christian life, and in assisting them to find a solution to their personal difficulties and questions. This work is primarily aimed at preparing skilled cadres and social workers for the Christian Movement in Greece by guiding students on all subjects concerned with Christian life and civilization. In this way the Union offers to its members a full series of lectures and educational lessons (370 each year), given by distinguished scientists, which help students to become closely acquainted with the life of faith and to solve their doubts and problems. Also, a large number of worship services and Bible study sessions (120 groups each consisting of 15-20 members, meet every week) give students the chance to participate in worship and so to acquire a personal experience of Christianity. Five summer camps for students function for the same purpose each year.

The first happy results of this were first made manifest in the Universities and other schools of higher learning, where the Christian students, working actively and with great enthusiasm, managed to change the prevailing atmosphere a good deal. Today a breeze of spiritual renewal is blowing into what was once only a dry, sterile scientific atmosphere.

Among the working and school-going youth, the influence of the Student Union has also been great. More than 800 members of both sexes are occupied each year as teachers and group leaders in the Sunday Schools and the Christian Groups of school boys and school girls, which consist of selected pupils of the above Sunday Schools. Hundreds of visits and speeches have also been made in many schools throughout Greece, by which the awakening of the modern world and Greece to spiritual influences has been made known to the younger folk. In addition, 10 summer camps for school boys and school girls are organized by the Union.

During the long years of emergency when Greek youth in the Forces were fighting hard to repel the deadly threat of totalitarian domination, the Union stood by their side, sending to the front a flow of over 1,000,000 pamphlets, magazines and books and some 40,000 letters. Much such material is still forwarded to the Armed Forces.

No part of the Greek social life has remained outside of the influence of the Student Christian Union. Military and civilian hospitals, children and refugee camps, the provinces and the villages of the country repeatedly have been visited by Christian students who devote their summer vacations to this purpose (700 such visits are made every summer by individuals and groups). In particular the "Christian Union of Professional Men" and the "Zoe" Brotherhood of Theologians give spiritual guidance to the Student Christian Union.

Thus, thanks to the blessing of God, a new and promising army of young men appears on the scene of modern Greek history ready to carry out the heavy task of material and spiritual reconstruction of this country, which has suffered so much from the attack of the forces of evil.

5. THE "EUSEBEIA" MISSIONARY SISTERHOOD OF CHRISTIAN WOMEN

"Eusebeia" is a missionary Sisterhood established in 1938 which has its office in Athens. Its membership consists of unmarried young women, graduates of several University Schools. "Eusebeia's" purpose is, on the one hand, to assist its members in their application of the Christian life and, on the other hand, to spread and establish the Christian principles among the women of Greece, and among Greek families in general, according to the traditions of the Greek Orthodox Church. The main concern of the Sisterhood is with school girls and girl students of the University, the Pedagogical Academies and other Colleges. It is the Sisterhood's chief aim to edify them in the Christian way and help them to become in the future Greek, Christian mothers worthy of their name. The Sisterhood's activity has also been expanded into the provinces. The sectors of Eusebeia's activities are: (a) The Sunday Schools conducted according to program and directions given by the "Zoe" Brotherhood of Theologians, (b) "The Student Movement" (Christian Students' Association — girl students), (c) "The Child's Life" a magazine for children, (d) the nurses in the hospitals, (e) the young working women, (f) the organization of student choirs, (g) special assistance to the women members of the Christian Union of Professional men, (h) Bible study groups.

During the Greek-Italian war of 1940-41 and at the time of the occupation, the members of the Sisterhood worked in several social areas. All members are volunteers (receiving no salary whatsoever)

and they consider it to be a social mission and a duty on their part towards the nation.

"The Child's life", mentioned above, is a fortnightly Christian magazine for children published by the "Eusebeia" Sisterhood since 1946. The magazine aims at offering the children pleasant and instructive material, within the Christian field, thus contributing to their growth in the Christian way of life. It has a circulation of about 175,000 copies, mainly among the thousands of Sunday School boys and girls all over Greece and, through them, among boys and girls not attending Sunday Scholl. It is a kind of supplement to the Sunday School teaching instruction. Members of the "Eusebeia" Sisterhood, beside contributing to the publication of other periodicals of the Movement, are responsible for the writing, the illustrative material and the propagation of the magazine. It is also important to notice that most teachers in elementary education and in the high schools make use of the "Child's Life" in lieu of a reading book.

6. THE CHRISTIAN UNION OF EDUCATORS

It was founded in January, 1947 and is another organization of the "Zoe" Movement. Today it consists of more than 500 educators, teachers, etc. Its members work systematically for the foundation of education on Christian principles. Its particular pursuits are: the moral elevation of the educational field; the improvement of the contents of school books; the enlargement and strengthening of Sunday School; the creation of model Christian schools for professional education; the affectionate care for the pupils both at school and out of it; and the cooperation with parents for the improvement of the moral level of youth. The members are classified in three groups as follows: (1) The regular members are those who are active professing Christians; (2) The associate members are those who feel a respect and interest for the principles of the Christian faith and (3) The proposed members are the pious students of Pedagogical Academies and of some faculties of the University who are about to become educators.

A periodical called "Hellenic-Christian Education" with a circulation of over 9,500 is issued each month. It deals with subjects on education in the light of Christian faith.

In cooperation with the Christian Union of Professional Men and the Christian Union of Working Youth they established in Piraeus, "The Apostle Paul" school of engineering where members of this

Union carry out the most of the supervising and tutoring work. The Union also contributes to the religious improvement of pupils, educators and parents in Athens and in the country. It contains a preparatory class which can be attended by boys who have finished their primary school. The courses last for six years and the main aim of the School is, for the present, to educate its students both theoretically and practically so that they might become a) marine and factory engineers, (b) electricians, and electrical engineers, (c) radio specialists and technicians specialized in telecommunication. The School has not, for the moment, either a proper building or a complete workshop. But in spite of all difficulties, according to the opinion of some specialists, the training given by the School is quite satisfactory and not at all inferior to that given by schools of the same kind which have been functioning for more than ten years. A great deal of effort is expended in providing sound, Christian moral training along with the regular academic program. Today the School has about 800 students. The Union of Christian Educators has established two other exemplary institutions known as "Hellenic Education."

7. THE "CHRISTIAN EDUCATION" PANHELLENIC UNION OF PARENTS

This was founded in 1934 with the chief objective of enlightening the Greek family on the meaning and value of Sunday Schools to help in the work of education and bring Christ in the Greek families. The whole work is carried out on the basis of a program following definite lines of action and instruction. At the same time, all co-operating members are contributing to the accomplishment of several missions. In this way they get good practice in organized social work. They become conscious of their task and learn to work methodically and in coordination with the other members.

The post-war action of the Union was so much expanded that it was necessary for the city of Athens to be divided into 20 self-governed sections. The rest of the country has been divided into sixty sections. This expansion made necessary the broadening of the Union's aims and now they are as follows: (1) The unity of the Christian Greek parents in a common effort to make certain that the principles and application of the Orthodox Christian faith prevail in Greek families; (2) The continuing development of the consciousness of Greek national ideals and Christian teachings in the light of the Orthodox Christian faith.

There are more than 9,000 regular members throughout Greece. About 17,300 persons attend large regular meetings, which makes an audience of nearly 80,000 persons per year. Representatives of all social classes are included in the above figures. University professors, senior state officials, men of science and of letters and rich businessmen are cooperating with simple laborers. It is a true Christian community.

In May 1953, the first "Pan-Hellenic Congress" was held in Athens with representatives from 26 towns. The following topics were put before the members: (1) Information about the moral situation of society, of the leading class and of the State officials; their attitude towards the Union's endeavor; whether there is any counteraction, by whom and why; (2) How the Union is to face various problems regarding both the inner life of the members and its external manifestations. It was concluded that there should be a wider and deeper cultivation of man's social feeling so that the cleansing of society might be the natural consequence of this inner cultivation rather than the result of reactionary activities whose success is always doubtful. Nevertheless, it was decided that the pursuance of specific aims was not to be altogether abandoned. This action was to continue, yet only as part of the broader program of the Movement against evil. The most valuable result of the Congress has been a further strengthening of the bonds of love among all cooperating members, and a deeper appreciation of the importance of unity. The realization of this intrinsic unity is the main purpose and the final goal of life within the Christian Union of Parents and the other Unions included in the "Apostle Paul Cooperating Christian Corporation" or "Zoe" Movement.

8. CHRISTIAN UNION OF WORKING YOUTH

The "Christian Union of Working Youth" was founded as an official association in 1945. But for about fifteen years before being established officially it had done a good deal of Christian work among the working youth. In the beginning they had some gatherings in a small room but it was soon proven that this room was not sufficient and larger quarters and a better organization were desirable. During the war this work had to discontinue, but immediately after it there was a call for complete reorganization. In this way the Christian Union of Working Youth was formed. It is divided into two branches, one for young boys and one for young girls. Soon the Union grew and branches were established all over the Country. It now

has 70 such branches in the most important Greek towns, e. g., Salonica, Drama, Edessa, Trikala, Carditsa, Volos, Lamia, Agrinion, Patras, Heracleion, Berea, Neochorion, Calamata and other cities. It has over 2,000 regular members and six thousand associate members contributing to the work which is done by the Union. They publish the "Light of the Working People" with 6,000 copies being issued each month. The results of this work prove that religious education is getting deeper into the souls of young people. The effect is a remarkable change in the daily life of boy and girl members of the Union.

9. THE "SAINT EUNICE" CHRISTIAN UNION

Since 1940, Christian young women wishing to devote their lives to the service of God and their neighbor have volunteered to become nurses in various hospitals and infirmaries of Athens. Their number has increased steadily; today there are more than five hundred. Their influence and missionary work have been very successful in those institutions of mercy. Since 1948 they have been officially organized and now have their own association entitled "Saint Eunice" and their own private home, a house situated in a suburb of Athens. Here the nurses spend their days of leave in a warm, friendly, Christian atmosphere. The Sisterhood "Eusebeia" through some of its members gives spiritual help and guidance to these Christian nurses. For this purpose there are special lessons and gathering in addition to helpful personal contacts. The nurses' missionary work is done, not so much by words, but chiefly by deeds, i. e., their own living example of charity and love. The Greek Red Cross has already sent some of these nurses to various hospitals of the provinces in order to organize, lead and train local voluntary groups (at Agrinion, Calamata, etc.) of nurses.

On similar lines, but for a variety of purposes, there is another women's organization called "Christian Union of Hope." It consists of professional women, mainly of teachers, educators and medical doctors. The function of this organization is missionary work. Its members are assigned to various cities of Greece and they endeavor to influence Greek life in various capacities. The members of this group freely cooperate and assist other Christian groups.

10. GROUPS OF CHRISTIAN FRIENDS

The spiritual equipment of men and women laboring in the Zoe Movement is provided within the groups of Christian Friends. Each

of these groups is composed of 10 to 30 members, presided over by a leader and an assistant leader; they meet once a week. The program of each meeting includes Bible study and discussion and the discussion of articles of Christian periodicals studied during the week. It also includes an exchange of spiritual experiences within the realm of the subject studied and the motto given the preceding week. Each week the subject is the same for all groups; the leaders meet once a week to prepare the subject, to work out its main lines, and to discuss it in the light of their own spiritual experience. The fellowship of Movement members in these groups results in a deeper sense of spiritual unity with them, and in an enrichment of their inner lives. At the same time, the groups of Christian Friends are frontline units, where members acquire a greater fighting spirit and missionary zeal. Three hundred such groups are working in the Athens area, with a total membership of about 5,000. Sixty of them are student groups, and 20 are composed of working class young men and women. Many of them came into existence during the occupation, in the midst of innumerable difficulties.

11. SCHOOL OF GENERAL CHRISTIAN STUDIES

The Zoe Movement, in order to secure leadership instructed in the principles of Christian ideals, and in order to re-educate its existing staff, established in September, 1943, the "School of General Christian Studies." This school aims at offering an opportunity to all those possessing a University degree, to study the problems of science in the light of Christian thought and to re-evaluate their education and experience in the light of Christianity as the source of civilization and culture. The annual attendance at this school is approximately 150.

An offshoot of the above school is the "Institute of Mental Hygiene and Medical Psychology" founded in 1949. Its purpose is to give its students the opportunity of studying the present status of psychology and of following the development of psychological research in the light of the Christian faith. This institute to date has published more than thirty-five studies in this field.

This in brief is the Zoe Movement in Greece, a movement deeply Christian and ardently missionary. It has penetrated and is exerting a tremendous influence upon practically all strata of the Greek people.

A movement of laymen, with the approval and the blessing of the official church, it is animated by the Spirit of God. A unique movement in the Cristian world it is dedicated to the glory of God and the salvation of man through Jesus Christ, our Lord.



On Biblical Interpretation

NICHOLAS OZEROV

The Orthodox Church believes that the Bible is the Word of God and reading of the Bible is highly recommended to the faithful. On reading the Bible, especially the Old Testament, one will immediately realize that its language, its images and concepts, its intellectual and cultural background are no longer those of our times. Thus one comes to the realization that if the Bible is to be understood, it has to be interpreted. As a matter of fact, the necessity of interpretation was already realized before New Testament times. That which is new in our situation is the rise of the new and the many methods of interpretation employed in the present day study of the Bible. It is the task of this article to indicate the major lines of approach to the Bible, their individual significance and mutual relationships. The most important trends of contemporary Biblical scholarship are philological, literary, historical and theological. All other aspects of Biblical studies may be subordinated to these four.

The meaning of philological study of the Bible and its necessity hardly needs any explanation or justification. If the Bible is the Word of God, surely the words of the Bible must be taken seriously if the Word is to be understood. On the other hand, the great advances achieved by textual criticism speak for themselves and do not require any further justification.

At this point one may be tempted to take a short cut and to proceed from the philological directly to the theological meaning of the Scripture. Such a short cut is unjustified, for it disregards the fact that the Bible, however fittingly it may be called The Book, in fact represents a whole library of books. This library contains a great variety of literary types: epics, lyrics, historical narratives, prophetic oracles, wise sayings, etc. For a proper understanding of any text it is necessary to recognize its literary form. Just as one uses a different approach in studying a Shakespearian drama and a textbook of astronomy, one should use different approaches in studying the book of Genesis and the book of Psalms. To give a concrete example, are we going to read the first chapter of the book of Genesis as a scientific account of the origin of the world or as a statement of faith? Whatever attitude we adopt, it will determine the outcome of our study, for identical words and expressions do carry different significance in different contexts.

After the philological and literary investigation have been carried out, one must undertake an historical study of the Bible before a theological interpretation of the text can be made. The simple fact is that the composition of the Bible extends over a period of well over 1000 years. In the course of this time, the words and images used by the Biblical authors have changed their meanings and new ideas have come into existence. The word "heart" in the Bible does not have the same meaning as it has for us today, the word "holy" does not carry the same significance in every Biblical book, the ideas of vicarious suffering and especially of the resurrection of the dead appear rather late in the Old Testament. These are only a few examples, the number of which can be indefinitely multiplied. Moreover, every Biblical book has been composed at a particular moment in history and in a particular cultural and social environment. Every book in the Bible reflects its particular "situation", most of the books also contain reflections upon their situation. Here lies the reason for the great differences among the individual books of the Bible, here also lies the greatest difficulty for the theory of literal inspiration of the Bible.

These three lines of approach are indispensable for a proper interpretation of the Bible, yet, they are not sufficient for they all fall short of an interpretation of the Bible as the Word of God. Besides the philological, literary and historical interpretations, however indispensable they may be, there must be a theological interpretation. How does one arrive at the theological meaning of the Bible? The traditional methods of establishing the theological meaning of the Bible have usually been the allegorical and the typological.

The word allegory means "description of one thing under an image of another." The allegorical method led to the establishment of the doctrine of a two- three- or even four-fold sense of the Bible. According to this view every word in the Bible has a number of meanings according to the particular line of investigation pursued. Thus, for example, the word "water" could be interpreted as meaning water (literal or historical meaning giving us the historical facts), baptism (allegorical meaning referring to the mysteries of faith), sin (moral meaning describing our moral situation), and last judgement (anagogical meaning relating to our ultimate destiny). There is no difficulty when the allegorical meaning of a given text is presented to us as an illustration, comparison, etc. It becomes something entirely different when the allegorical meaning is understood as

a meaning present in the passage itself or even as the meaning of the passage. If such a theory is adopted, the Bible becomes a book of riddles and any attempt to solve these riddles is doomed to failure as there is no authoritative code by which one can decipher them. In fact the allegorical method of interpretation opens the way for a unbridled play of imagination. Moreover, the allegorical interpretation completely disregards the results of philological, literary, and historical investigation which are indispensable for a proper understanding of the Biblical text.

The typological approach differs from the allegorical in that it is concerned not so much with words as with the historical events which these words describe. The whole history of Isreal is seen as prophetic in character. An earlier event is understood as foreshadowing a later one. Since both the subject (God) and the object (man) of the Bible remain identical throughout, there is much to be said in favor of typological interpretation. The redemptive acts of God always display a similarity and, what is even more important, every such act points to another one, either negatively through its insufficiency or positively as a pledge. However, the application of the typological method is rather difficult, for while it is true that the whole of the Old Testament points to Christ, the statement that every passage in the Old Testament has a Christological meaning is definitely an exaggeration, for then, just as in the case of allegorical interpretation, the Bible becomes a book of riddles and any attempt to solve them is doomed to failure as it opens the way for an unlimited phantasy. Moreover, the unrestricted application of the typological method makes the results of philological, literary and historical investigation completely superfluous. It is much safer to say that every passage in the Old Testament stands in a context which as a whole is charged with typological significance and to remain content with that statement. It is only the central issues and the main outlines with which the typological method should be legitimately concerned.

The question may be asked, "Why did the Fathers use these methods of interpretation?" or rather, "What were the results which the Fathers wanted to achieve by using these methods?" Their principle aims seem to have been the following: 1. to prove the messianic dignity of Jesus Christ from the Old Testament, 2. to prove certain doctrinal or moral propositions, 3. to safeguard the revelational character of the Bible. The Fathers' reason for choosing these

methods seems to lie simply in the fact that these happened to be the methods currently available; no other methods existed in their days except in the most rudimentary form.

The insufficiencies and dangers of the allegorical and typological interpretations seem to indicate that the theological meaning is actually contained in the literal meaning of the Bible, not as an additional element but as its integral part.

It is hoped that up to this point most students of the Bible will agree. From this point on the roads will part because of presuppositions peculiar to individual theologians. The crucial question is, "What is theology?" Generally speaking, there are two distinct lines of approach: speculative and experimental. Either of these approaches, when carried out to its logical conclusions, becomes untenable. Speculative theology may arrive at an imposing system which will be a structure of words no longer corresponding to anything known to us. Experimental theology may become dissolved into religious psychology, sociology, etc. Hardly anyone will consistently pursue one of these lines of approach while completely rejecting the other. However, there will always be a difference of emphasis, yet it will, so to say, make all the difference.

The Bible contains data for theology. If theology is conceived of as primarily a speculative discipline, the Bible is considered as revelation inasmuch as it contains necessary and infallible propositions from which a system may be constructed by the logical procedure of syllogism. Consequently, faith, the human response to revelation, becomes primarily an intellectual assent to divinely communicated, and therefore intarrent propositions. This approach presupposes a conviction that the actual philological, literary and historical form of the Bible is merely an accidental cloak which contains the pure, intellectual truths of Revelation. Therefore the primary task of a theologian is to liberate this eternal truth from the primitive form into which it is actually cast in the Bible.

Granting the inevitability and even the positive value of this approach, two questions arise: "Is this approach sufficient?" and, "Does it do justice to the Bible as we have it?" If these two questions are answered positively, one may well ask, "Why not replace the Bible by a catechism?" (Very often this is what actually happens.) The reference to the inexhaustible wealth of meaning in the Bible does not help, for one can conceive of an infinitely large catechism which would contain all the doctrinal and moral propositions

of the Bible. The crucial question however is: "Does one meet God in a catechism?" The Bible, however, is a book where one does meet God. Consequently, the primary significance and value of the Bible is not in being a source book of propositions, for which role it is poorly suited, but in the fact that it does bring men into communion with God. Possibly it is the form into which the Bible has been cast that is responsible for its effectiveness. It may be that the historical form of the Bible is not accidental as assumed in the previous approach, but rather providential.

All these considerations seem to indicate that the historical character of the Bible needs theological interpretation. First, as we are shown in the Bible, God, when dealing with men, adapts Himself to men, not to the abstract idea of man but to concrete historical men, for it is only in this way that men are able to receive the Word of God. Thus, every passage is addressed primarily to its first recipients and only indirectly to us. This fact puts us under obligation to study the historical background of every passage in order to receive its message. As it has been aptly put, "we must look **with** the prophets, not **at** the prophets." The same principle may be applied to the whole of the Bible. If the simile of seeing is legitimate, it is easy to realize that what we see depends not only upon that at which we look, but also upon the particular position occupied by us. It is only too obvious that the intellectual, spiritual, social, etc., situation was very different at various moments of Biblical history. In order to understand a Biblical author one has to put himself, as it were, in his place, to reconstruct his historical situation with all that it implies. Only then will one be able to re-live his experience, to re-think his thoughts, to see what he saw, and ultimately, to see God.

Second, the history of the Bible is not merely a meaningless sequence of chronological periods, but it is charged with meaning. It is the history of God's divine purpose, the salvation of mankind. God is leading mankind, preparing it for the reception of this ultimate salvation. To put it in other terms, Biblical revelation is a progressive revelation. The realization of this fact will preserve us from the danger of putting every statement of the Bible on the same level.

The above arguments may be presented from a different point of view. The Bible is not merely a divine word, for such a word would be unintelligible to us, it is a divine -human word and unless we take a full account of the human aspect we shall never come to the divine. The study of the human aspect of the Bible, if it is to be undertaken,

must be carried out with all the means humanly available, with all the methods of the philological, literary and historical sciences.

If one thinks that this investigation can destroy the Bible, one simply underestimates the power of the Word of God. Present day Biblical scholarship, in its innumerable works, bears witness to the unique power of attraction which the Bible is exercising upon human minds. It is true that the historical and literary methods of investigation have often given rise to phantastic theories and affirmations, yet this is not sufficient to condemn the methods as such. It is hoped that the preceding arguments have shown that the literary and historical study of the Bible are far more suited to the actual form of the Bible than either the allegorical or the typological. It cannot be denied that modern Biblical scholarship has performed an enormous service in making the Bible available to our times. There is no reason to doubt that the great Fathers of the Church, who were men fully abreast of contemporary culture, and who have used it most extensively, would welcome the new methods of Biblical interpretation and make an extensive use of them.



Pasternak and Dostoevsky

DIMITRY GRIGORIEFF

Standing out as it does from everything else written in Russian during the last 50 years, Boris Pasternak's novel **Doctor Zhivago** has been described by many as continuing the Russian literary tradition of the nineteenth century. The influence of Leo Tolstoy on the novel has been particularly mentioned in the press.¹⁾

However, there is another great writer of the nineteenth century whom we suddenly recall while reading Pasternak's novel. This is Dostoevsky. One may perceive many echoes of Dostoevsky's art in the ideas, images and structure of **Doctor Zhivago**. It is not necessarily a question of direct literary influence. It is rather a case of a close esthetic and spiritual affinity between the two writers.

Both writers in describing concrete events of real life point out or allude to a higher transcendental reality contained in them. Many external circumstances in their works make sense only in the light of that reality. From a formal literary point of view such a method leads to a fusion of the realistic and mythological layers of the material. Vyacheslav Ivanov calls it "realistic symbolism."²⁾

Thus the image of Lara Pasternak may depict simply an attractive earthly woman or the beautiful Psyche of myth. Yurii Zhivago may represent the passive Russian intelligentsia or a divine liberator of the world soul suffering in the captivity of sin. On the symbolic level the images of Lara and Yurii are related to Nastasya Filippovna and Prince Myshkin (**The Idiot**), and, in general, to the theme of the "pure beauty" enslaved by the "prince of this world," variously repeated in all Dostoevsky's novels.³⁾

The realistic symbolism of Dostoevsky and Pasternak ensues from their conception of art as an expression of some metaphysical artistic idea, which, according to Pasternak, is a "mysterious and

¹⁾ "The Passion of Yourii Zhivago," **Time Magazine**, New York, Dec. 15, 1958; Edmund Wilson, "Doctor Life and His Guardian Angel. **The New Yorker**, New York, Nov. 15, 1958

²⁾ Vyacheslav Ivanov, **Dostoevsky; Freedom and the Tragic Life**, Noon-day Press, New York, 1957, p. 49.

³⁾ See K. Mochulsky, **Dostoevsky**, YMCA Press, Paris, 1947; L. A. Zander, **Dostoevsky**, SCM Press, London, 1948; Vyacheslav Ivanov, **Dostoevsky**,

hidden part of content.”⁴) (Dostoevsky in his letter to Strakhov writes that sometimes “it is beyond his power to express this artistic idea.”⁵)

The “artistic idea” of the writers, in its turn, is greatly influenced by profound religious motifs in the Eastern Orthodox tradition which pervade their writings and yield a key to the understanding of their symbols and myths. It is especially difficult to comprehend Pasternak’s novel without that key. There are more allusions than, concrete facts in it. Here prose verges on symbolic poetry.

Below are summarized some related metaphysical ideas of Dostoevsky and Pasternak significant to a more complete appreciation of their mythology and their art in general.

Dostoevsky and Pasternak perceive a monumental historical upheaval in the coming of Christ, a crumbling ruin of the old world and the beginning of a new era.

“A collision of two diametrically opposed ideas occurred: the man-god encountered the God-man, Apollo of Belvedere encountered Christ,”⁶) Dostoevsky states.

Nikolai Nikolaievich Vedeniapin, uncle of Doctor Zhivago and an ideological spokesman in the novel, having vividly described the stifling atmosphere of violence and degradation of ancient Rome, thus spoke about its end:

“And then, into this tasteless heap of gold and marble, He came, light and clothed in an aura, emphatically human, deliberately provincial, Galilean, and at that moment gods and nations ceased to be and man came into being...man who does not sound in the least proud...” (p. 43)

Both writers agree that with the coming of Christ all former conceptions and orders, nationalities, states, social classes, emperors, and leaders became or are about to become extinct. All who accept Christ must unite in a “new, formerly unheard of nationality — all-

⁴ Boris Pasternak, *Doctor Zhivago*, Pantheon, New York, 1958, p. 281. The words “hidden, secret” I have changed to mysterious and hidden, “which is a more correct translation of the Russian “тайны и скрытое.” Further quotations from the novel will be indicated in the text of the article by the page number of the book.

⁵ Biografiya, pisma i zametki iz zapisnoy knizhki F. M. Dostoyevskogo, S. Petersburg, 1883, p. 311. Letter written on April 23, 1871.

⁶ F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Diary of a Writer*, tr. by B. Brasol, Scribner’s, New York, 1949, v. 2, p. 1005.

brotherly, embracing all mankind" (Dostoevsky), "embracing all nations" (Pasternak).

But at this point Dostoevsky adds his messianic idea, that under prevailing conditions the Russian people are the progenitors and bearers of the idea of the all-embracing brotherhood in Christ. Pasternak, who has seen and experienced so much after Dostoevsky, does not share the concept of national-messianism. His genuine patriotism and religious *Weltanschauung* are not marred by nationalistic aspirations."

However, basically both writers affirm the Christian revelation about human destiny. They contemplate a transfigured world, where there are neither Jews nor Gentiles, but "converted, transformed nation."

In contrast to the socialistic "ant-hill" so much hated by Dostoevsky, man's individuality is affirmed in this new form of society, which Dostoevsky calls the Ecumenical Church and Pasternak calls the Kingdom of God. Misha Gordon, a friend of Yurii Zhivago, says:

"In that new way of living and new form of society, which is born of the heart, and which is called the Kingdom of God,⁷) there are no nations, there are only individuals." (p. 122)

Both writers are deeply anthropocentric. Man, his unique personality, and his tragic human destiny in a world pervaded by sin and death, is the center of their artistic attention. Their heroes are saved from inner disintegration by a deep and natural faith in humanity, in the spiritual foundation of man, in that which in the biblical language is called the image and likeness of God. Both writers have seen the perfect expression of humanity and of God's image in Christ. Contemplating a new novel, Dostoevsky wrote to S. A. Ivanova, his niece.

"There is in the world only one perfectly beautiful person—Christ."⁸)

"How could they allow a spirit of such overwhelming power and beauty to leave them," comments Misha Gordon on the rejection of Christ by the Jews. (p. 123)

Dostoevsky leads a fallen man through a "crucible of suffering" to an awakening of love and moral purification. The "everlasting ideal of Christ" illuminates the path.

⁷ "The Kingdom of Heaven" in the English text of the novel, which is an incorrect rendering of the Russian "Tsarstvo Bozhye."

⁸ F. M. Dostoevsky, *Pisma*, ed. A. Dolinin, Moskva, 1928-34, t. 2, p. 71.

Pasternak's Yurii Zhivago, having spent his short spanned life in suffering, failures, and temptations, departs from this world in peace with life and his Creator. This is confirmed by a few symbolic reflections, i. e., the flowers around the remains of Dr. Zhivago "compensated for the absence of the Church ritual;" the deceased's supernatural cousin and guardian angel Evgraf appears mysteriously at the coffin; Lara, who also comes to the bier under inexplicable circumstances, bestows her blessing on the body. Some significance may lie in the fact that she bestows her blessing from a bench placed here by Evgraf, as if receiving supernatural sanction.

Certainly Lara does not represent only the true and deep, though unlawful, love of Yurii. As was mentioned before, she, like Dostoevsky's heroines, on a metaphysical level can personify the Soul of the World, Eternal Femininity, Mother-Earth. This significance is expressed in the ecstatic experience Yurii Zhivago has while with the partisans, at the end of a clear, sunny day in the woods. The surrounding nature is suddenly transfigured into

"a similar primordial and all-embracing likeness of a girl.

"Lara," he whispered and thought, addressing the whole of his life, all God's earth, all the sunlit space spread out before him." (p. 343)

Further on in the novel, Yurii Zhivago experiences the same mystical illumination again. Upon his return to the town of Yuriatin, he comes to Lara's apartment and waits for her return. He begins to think about the world which surrounds him, about his Mother Russia, about the life and joy of existence, all of which was incarnated in Lara:

"This was exactly what Lara was. You could not communicate with life and existence, but she was their representation, their expression, in her the inarticulate principle of existence became sensitive and capable of speech." (p. 391)

On a more religious level, Lara suggests Mary Magdalene; the antique myth of beautiful Psyche is transformed into a New Testament story. The gospel narrative and the liturgical texts on the sinful woman washing the feet of Christ on the eve of his suffering made a deep and lasting impression on Pasternak. He stands in awe at the woman's audacity, and the condescension of the Lord. Having quoted the following words from the liturgical chant: "Who can fathom the multitude of my sins or the depths of Thy mercy?", Sima Tuncev, a friend of Lara, comments as follows:

"What familiarity, what equality between God and life, God and the individual, God and a woman!" (p. 415)

To the Christian existentialists, Dostoevsky and Pasternak, light shines even in darkness. Every man can recover the lost image of God. Both reject the narrowly puritan, naively moralistic contrasting of good and evil. With the Old Testament separation of the clean from the unclean they contrast the penetration of the clean into the unclean for the transfiguration of the latter. And human purity is conditional. Only Christ is without sin. A man can approach that ideal through recognition of his impurity and voluntary submission to his Creator. Thus, a penitent cry comes often from the lips of Yurii:

"Why hast Thou cast me off, O Light everlasting, and cast me down into the darkness of hell?" (p. 394)

Lara is also remorseful. Full of self reproach, she sobs in distress by the death bed of Yurii.

The theme of life and death takes a prominent place in the works of both writers. It ensues from their affirmative conception of life. Instinctively antagonistic to the very idea of death and destruction, they come to a mystic affirmation of life as the Highest Essence, which fills and sustains the whole created world. Their heroes are often animated only by this life affirming power, which they find in the surrounding world, in nature.

"Oh, how sweet to be alive! How good to be alive and to love life!" — Yurii Zhivago thinks on a spring evening, listening to the voices of children playing in the yard. (p. 391) And it is this love of life that alone sustains the spiritually half-dead Ivan Karamazov. He says to Alyosha:

I've asked myself many times whether there is in the world any despair that would overcome this frantic and perhaps unseemly thirst for life in me, and I've come to the conclusion that there isn't... I love the sticky little leaves as they open in spring. I love the blue sky..."⁹)

By their particular way of describing nature and emphasizing certain of its aspects in relation to man's inner life ("sticky little leaves," "slanting rays of sunset," flowers which "compensated for the absence of the ritual") Dostoevsky and Pasternak assert the ontological unity of the whole created world.

⁹ F. M. Dostoevsky, *The Brothers Karamazov*, tr. by C. Garnett, Modern Library, New York, p. 273.

Pasternak says directly that the "vegetable kingdom," our death and life, are mysteriously bound together. He ascribes a special symbolic significance to the Gospel story that Mary Magdalene, having failed to recognize the risen Lord, took him for a gardener.

Is it not possible to see in this thought of Pasternak some reflection of Dostoevsky's epigraph to *The Brothers Karamazov*, taken from the Gospel according to St. John:

"Verily, verily, I say unto you, except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." (xii, 24)

Death is the entrance to eternity. "There is no such thing as death," Dr. Zhivago tells the ailing mother of his fiancee. "What we need is something new, and the new thing is life eternal!" (p. 68)

The idea of everlasting life is beyond the grasp of the human mind. No pious notions concerning the fate of the soul after death are convincing. It is easy to agree with Yurii Zhivago, when he says that resurrection "in the crude form in which it is preached to console the weak" is alien to him. The Christian hope of eternal life is centered in Jesus alone, and is faith, not rationalization. In trying to explain eternal life logically both writers fail. Dostoevsky is tempted by a utopian vision of a paradise on earth. Pasternak reduces personal eternity to the memory of the dead by the living.

However, in artistic images both writers assert the Christian faith in resurrection with prophetic power, thus confirming Pasternak's statement that true art continues the Revelation of St. John. Dostoevsky does it in the chapter called "Cana of Galilee," in which Alyosha Karamazov sees a miraculous vision of a nuptial feast in the Kingdom of God at the bier of his deceased teacher, Father Zossima.

Pasternak affirms his faith in resurrection in the poem about Christ in the tomb, entitled "Turmoil," which Yurii Zhivago, delirious with typhus, dreams that he writes. He describes

"How for three days the black, raging, worm-filled earth had assailed the deathless incarnation of love. . ." (p. 207)

A terrible struggle is going on between life and death. The powers of hell, death, corruption confront life, spring, Mary Magdalene. This highly symbolic, religious chapter ends with a life affirming call: Time to arise, time for the resurrection!"

Cana of Galilee and Holy Saturday (the day before Easter, commemorating Christ in the tomb, before his resurrection) have special significance in the Eastern Orthodox tradition. Cana of Galilee is the

symbol of a bright, joyful, transfigured life with Christ and His Church, in His Kingdom. Holy Saturday is the most solemn and the most sacred day on earth. This is the day when all mankind stands in silence and awe at the Lord's sepulchre, which alone contains the hope and power of resurrection and eternal life.

The theme of the poem "Turmoil" is repeated in the images of real life by the coffin of Yurii Zhivago (*zhivago* means "living," "undying").

On the highest religious level of symbolism Christ, the Son of Man, who embraces all of humanity, is the prototype of Yurii on his death bed. Mary Magdalene is the prototype of Lara, who comes to the coffin. The fragrant flowers are the symbol of spring and life. Death is an anticipation of eternity. "Time to arise, time for the resurrection!"

Pasternak with his artistic intuition leads his readers to the very limit of human penetration into the mystery of life and death...

Lara talks to the deceased as to the living:

"The riddle of life, the riddle of death, the enchantment of genius, the enchantment of unadorned beauty — yes, yes, these things were ours. But the small worries of practical life — things like the reshaping of the planet — these things, no thank you, they are not for us. (p. 502)

These words of Lara contain the main theme of the novel. Certainly, it is not attuned to the state which strives to reshape the world on a materialistic basis.

By Yurii's death bed Lara's repentance, purification and reconciliation with Life takes place. The antique myth, imbued with the Christian ideology, introduced into Russian literature but not completed by Dostoevsky, is positively concluded by Pasternak. Beautiful Psyche, the Soul of the World, tormented in the captivity of sin, finds her deliverer.*

From the pragmatic point of view the end is tragic. But without suffering there is no birth to the new life. Without death there is no resurrection.

* Note of the editors—this interesting article is written under a certain influence of Father S. Bulgakov's Sophiology, especially of its earlier stage — see S. Bulgakov, TIKHIYA DUMY, 1917—a standpoint which is not shared by the editors of the "Quarterly."

Both writers are profoundly skeptical about modern humanistic civilization and modern society, communist or capitalist, godless and Christian alike. They powerfully condemn its ethically spiritless and esthetically trivial approach to life where the heart of man is forgotten. The only real progress of human society can be achieved through the inner transformation of man by love, which starts with love of one's neighbor and is, as Dr. Zhivago points out, the supreme form of vital energy. The writings of Dostoevsky and Pasternak present the dilemma: the acceptance of Supreme Love as the basis of life, which is the only possible solution of man's endeavor to better his life; or else, violence, exploitation and corruption will prevail in the world.



Notes and Comments

THE ORTHODOX CHURCH, THE WORLD COUNCIL AND ROME

In a recent address presented to the Annual Meeting of the U. S. Conference for the World Council of Churches, His Eminence Archbishop Iakovos, the new Primate of the Greek Archdiocese of North and South America, quoted the statement made by the Ecumenical Patriarch in reference to the Vatican announcement of the Ecumenical Council.

"No Synod can be called ecumenical", said His Holiness, "Unless it is truly such, that is Pan-Christian. If the Orthodox Church is invited, it will be represented only if the entire Christian World is invited to send representatives. The minimum representation of the other Churches would be their collective representation through the World Council of Churches."

Among many Orthodox, this statement has provoked a certain uneasiness. And we must admit that as it stands (i. e. as quotation, the whole context of which is not given) this statement can be understood in a way quite incompatible with the officially formulated position of the Orthodox Church in the Ecumenical movement. First, it might imply that, in the Orthodox view, the World Council of Churches can speak for all non-Roman denominations, including the Orthodox Church, which implication contradicts not only our ecumenical position, but the nature of the World Council of Churches itself. Secondly upon reading it, one might think that since in the World Council of Churches, the Orthodox Church is associated mainly if not exclusively with the Protestant denominations, Orthodoxy is "closer" to Protestantism than to the Roman Catholic Church, which again is not true. Our participation in the World Council in no way excludes the possibility of a direct dialogue with Rome were such dialogue possible and desirable. Moreover, there can be no common Orthodox-Protestant answer to Rome (through the World Council or otherwise) because the problem of our relationship with Rome is essentially and radically different from our "evaluation" of Protestantism. And finally, although a Pan-Christian Council may be highly desirable, it cannot be, in terms of Orthodox ecclesiology, identified with an Ecumenical Council, the first being the "expression" of the Ecumenical Movement, the second — the expression of the Church.

We respectfully submit these, our doubts, to His Holiness, in the hope that a clarification coming from the Ecumenical See, will make the position of the Orthodox Church as clearly defined as possible, for any confusion and ambiguity at this point can lead to serious consequences.

Alexander Schmemann



LETTER FROM BOSSEY

The seventh annual semester of the Graduate School has just ended at the Ecumenical Institute at Chateau de Bossey, Switzerland. From 22 countries, and 13 confessions, 48 students have lived and studied for four and a half months. Having gone through this unique experience, I would like to share some of my impressions with you.

The Institute is under the direction of Professor H. H. Wolf (Germany) who is assisted by Rev. C. C. West (USA) and Dr. N. Nissiotis (Greece, Orthodox). The aim of the Institute is a double one: 1. to procure a term of ecumenical studies to students who have come from all parts of the world. The program of studies consists of a "permanent" part which is a general introduction to ecumenics and all the existing problems connected with it (History of the Ecumenical Movement, problems of ecumenical worship, theological issues in the present ecumenical situation, etc.) and a variable part which annually changes. We studied the Roman Catholic Church with the emphasis on ecclesiology, missiology, and its attitude to the Ecumenical Movement. Next year's theme will be that of "The Ministry and the Ministries of the Church." The Graduate School term is equivalent to a semester at the University of Geneva with which the Institute is associated. Upon completion of the term, one receives a diploma signed by both faculties. Requirement for admission is at least two years of seminary training. 2. During the rest of the year, the Institute is open for Christian study conference of scientific, literary, social or cultural nature. I had the privilege of attending one of these conferences on the topic of "Eastern European Culture" about which I will report in my next letter.

In other words, Bossey exemplifies, on a small scale, what the World Council of Churches represents, that is, a "platform" on which people are given the possibility of meeting each other as brothers.

The Continental dialogue as well as our Bossey experience teach us that there can be easy way out of our divided situation. However where small, select groups of theologians have set out, with prayer and discussions, to learn from one another, a remarkably creative progress in understanding has been possible. It has nothing whatever to do with "changing our minds" about our own positions or loyalties; its concern is for the development of brotherly relationships between those who serve the same Lord. I must add, however that these contacts which are taking place in Europe and especially in France, Belgium and Germany are practically non-existent in the United States. This is especially true of the Roman Catholic Church and to a large extent our own Orthodox Church. Perhaps it would be appropriate to recall the words of Berdier who said that "Christianity is not only the revelation of the Truth, but of love also." It is precisely this element of love which we so often forget. In this age of universalism, we Orthodox, can no longer afford to be isolated and ignorant for we have a tremendous task and responsibility of presenting Orthodoxy in terms understandable to the West. We must be awakened to our mission in the West. In the words of Father Bulgakov "No historical Church can become so isolated as to not know and feel the Christian world around it, or such unawareness is a sign of its own sickness or at least its limitedness."

Possessing the fulness of truth implies at the same time responsibility. It is revealed to us not only for the safe-keeping, but also for creative life. It is not a dead capital, it must bring profits. "The truth, which does not realize itself in life, becomes dead, it is no longer the way and the life."

A deeper and more spiritual understanding of Christianity necessarily puts the struggle between separated brothers on a different plane. One discovers that it is no longer possible to use the polemics of centuries or even decades ago. However, everywhere the thinking of the main bulk of Christian people is still conditioned by inherited tendencies. Our experience at Bossey has been that where such fully authorized contact with Roman Catholic theologians is possible, it first of all helps us to get rid of our inherited prejudices and secondly it reveals how varied their approach can be in many respects. The latter point is very well illustrated by the Roman Catholic ecumenical literature of recent years.

Constantine Kallaur



BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX Patriarch German

His Holiness German, forty third Patriarch on the Throne of St. Sava, was born on August 7, 1899, in Josanicka Banja near the monastery of Studenica. He received his elementary education in the village of Velika Drenova and in Krusevac. He started his religious education in the Theological Seminary of Belgrade which was transferred later to Sremski Karlovci. It was there that he graduated in 1921.

For a time, he studied law at the Sorbonne in Paris but later returned to Belgrade where he enrolled at the Theological Faculty of Belgrade University to graduate in theology. He began his service in the Serbian Orthodox Church in Belgrade in 1924 as a deacon and secretary of the Ecclesiastical Court of the Diocese of Zica. He remained at this post until 1927. In that year he was ordained and given the post of parish priest at the village of Mio-kavac in the Diocese of Ljubic.

On June 12, 1951, he was appointed secretary to the Serbian Orthodox St. Synod in Belgrade at which post he remained until his nomination as Suffragan Bishop at Moravica.

On June 3, 1952, the Serbian Orthodox Synod nominated Patriarch German as Bishop of the Budapest Serbian Diocese (Hungary), still retaining his post as Secretary General of the Holy Synod until enabled to proceed to his new position in Hungary.

After the death of Dr. Nikolay Velimirovich, Bishop of Zica in exile in the United States, Patriarch German was unanimously chosen as full Bishop of this Diocese which he had administrated previously.

In addition to administering the Zica Diocese, he also administered the Dioceses of Raska and Primorje.

In 1951, Patriarch German visited the Serbian Orthodox Diocese in the United States of America and Canada as a special envoy of the Serbian Holy Synod. At that time, he also paid visits to the Serbian Orthodox Churches in London, Paris, Munich and Trieste.

Patriarch German was a member of the delegation headed by the late Patriarch Vikentije which visited Greece in 1955 (Athens, Corfu, Salonica, Mount Athos and the Monastery of Hilendar). He was one of a three member delegation of the Serbian Orthodox Church who attended the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of renovation of the Russian Orthodox Patriarchate. He made contributions to various Serbian Church publications and has been at one time, editor of the official organ of the Zica Diocese Pregled and of the official Gazette of the Serbian Orthodox Church Glasnik. He was also editor for three years of the St. Lazar Calendar of the Zica Diocese.

From the day he entered the service of the Serbian Orthodox Church until his election as its Head, Patriarch German has had every opportunity to acquaint himself with all aspects of serving the Serbian Church and with the problems of administering it.

Firmilian Oeokolich



Book Reviews

Archimandrite Sofrony, *The Undistorted Image, STARETZ SILOUAN (1866-1938)*, translated from Russian by Rosemary Edmonds, London, The Faith Press, 1958, pp. 207.

It is seldom that so great religious authenticity, such heights of religious experience are put into written words, as is the case with the artless written notes of the late Russian monk Silouan of Mount Athos. It is the very great merit of Archimandrite Sofrony who has been his disciple on Mount Athos and lives now in Essex England in a kind of monastic seclusion to have preserved the short and humble notes and the image of Father Silouan. Staretz Silouan, born in Russia in a peasant family, of little education, came to Mt. Athos, in 1892, where he remained until his death in 1938. He entered into the stream of ascetic and mystical tradition of the anchorites of Mount Athos, the chief means of his religious education and growth being prayer and intense life of humble self-surrender to God, according to the teaching of the Eastern Orthodox Fathers, guides to the heights of spiritual life. Depth of humility, manliness of spiritual warfare against our old self-centered "ego"; meekness, maturity of judgment and spiritual sobriety, coupled with and resulting in the contemplation of the immense, unsoundable, unimaginable depths of the loving condescension of God — of God's love and God's humility: those are the leading features of this experience. It is deeply authentic, it takes hold of you in those unskilled, broken sentences of Father Silouan.

"My soul is seized with fear and trembling, when I write of the love of God.
My soul is poor and without strength to describe the Lord's love..."

The Lord bestows such grace on His chosen that they embrace the whole earth, the whole world, with their love, and their souls burn with longing that all men should be saved and behold the glory of the Lord...

O how the Lord loves His creation!.. And behold the Lord has vouchsafed to us to speak together of these things, and our spirit rejoices that the Lord is with us...

If you would know the Lord, humble yourself to the utmost. Be obedient and sober in all things. Love truth. And the Lord of a surety will give you to know Him through the Holy Spirit; and then you will know by experience what love towards God is, and what love towards man. And the more perfect your love, the more perfect your knowledge. There is love in small measure; there is a means of love; and there is a great love...

There is no man on earth so gentle and lowly in spirit as our Lord Jesus Christ. In Him is our joy, in Him is our gladness...

O brethren, there is naught better than the love of God when the Lord fires the soul with love for God and our fellowman...

Blessed is the soul that loves her brother, for our brother is our life. Blessed is the soul that loves her brother. The Spirit of the Lord lives manifest within her, giving peace and gladness, and she weeps for the whole world....

I cannot remain silent concerning the people whom I love so greatly that I must weep for them. I cannot remain silent because my soul ever grieves for the people of God and I pray for them with tears. I cannot refrain from

making known to you, brethren, the mercy of God and the wiles of the enemy....

If we wish to love God, we must observe all that the Lord commanded us in the Gospels. Our hearts must brim with compassion and not only feel love for our fellow-men, but pity for every creature — for every thing created by God.

The Lord wants us to love our fellow-man; and if you reflect that the Lord loves him, that is a sign of the Lord's love in you. And if you consider how greatly the Lord loves His creature, and you yourself have compassion to all creation, and love your enemies, counting yourself as the vilest of men, this is a sign of abundant grace of the Holy Spirit in you...

If you pray for your enemies, peace will come to you, but when you come to love your enemies — know that a great measure of the grace of God dwells in you... Whereas if you revile your enemies it means there is an evil spirit living in you and bringing evil thoughts into your heart...

'The enemy persecutes our Holy Church', you may say. 'Am I then to love him?' But my answer is this: 'Your poor soul has not come to know God, and how greatly He loves us, and how longingly He looks for all men to repent and to be saved. The Lord is love, and He sent the Holy Spirit to earth. Who teaches the soul to love her enemies and pray for them that they too may find salvation. That is true love...' (chapter: "On Love", pp. 119, 21, 122, 123, — 124, 125, 126, 127). And again (in the section: "The Soul's yearning for God"):

"When the soul sees the Lord how meek and humble He is, then she herself is thoroughly humbled, and desires nothing so much as the humility of Christ.."

The grace of God is not in a man who does not love his enemies..

My soul thirsts after the humility of Christ, and yearns for it day and night..

The soul has surrendered to Him like a little child who receives food each day but is ignorant whence comes that food. Thus it is with God: the soul feels that all is well with her but cannot explain how this is..." (pp. 131, 132, 133, 135).

You have the impression of having approached a stream of very pure water and have drunk some draughts from it — a stream of water "that flows into Life Eternal", according to the words of the Master.

There are perhaps some defects in the presentation of this marvellous little book (which is a most beautiful shortened translation from the Russian original edition). The introduction is in my opinion too lengthy and a bit too systematical and theoretical (I presume it was written as a thesis for a theological degree at the Orthodox Theological Seminary in Paris and therefore lacks a little of its academical origin). It tries perhaps too much to "locate" and to describe in terms of school-teaching the mystical experience of the love of Christ and of the life in Christ of Father Silouan. I think this way of presentation of the subject in the introduction was partly imposed on the author. On the other hand it may prove very useful to readers not acquainted with the Orthodox Spiritual tradition. On the whole the book is marvellous and the merit of Archimandrite Sofrony is very, very great, and we ought to be immensely thankful to him. The book, especially some of its parts, should not only to be read several times but should be a subject of meditation. It can

be a very genuine introduction into the mystical ascetic life of the Eastern Orthodox Church, into the new life in Christ.

Nicholas Arseniev



Panogiotis N. Trembelas, **THE THEOPNEUSTIA OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE**,
Press of the Brotherhood of Theologians "Zoe", Athens. 1938, pp. 82
(in Greek).

Dr. Trembelas, retired professor at the School of Theology, University of Athens, is a phenomenon in contemporary theological scholarship and missionary work. He is one of the founders of the most effective missionary brotherhood of theologians and churchmen of Greece, "ZOE" which for over fifty years has been a blessing for the Greek Orthodox Church. (For basic information about "ZOE" and its work, see "The Waters of Marah" by Peter Hammond, Macmillan 1956).

In 1918, he was elected professor extraordinary of the history of dogmas and confessions at the University of Athens. In 1939, he became permanent professor of Homiletics, Catechesis and Liturgies at the same school, a position from which he retired at the end of the 1956-1957 academic year.

Dr. Trembelas is a prolific author and writer and a most successful preacher. Since 1907, he has been preaching to large congregations all over Greece and specifically in Athens and Piraeus. His scholarly, as well as his popular articles in various periodicals, amount to many thousands and he has written more than forty-five books. I will mention only a few. **Apologetical Studies** in 3 vols., **Commentaries on all the books of the New Testament** except the Revelation 8 vols. (award of the Academy of Athens, 1955), **Homiletics** (Award of the Academy of Athens), **A Critical Edition of the 'Mikron Euhologion'** 2 vols. (award of the Academy of Athens). **Historical Materialism, Catechesis, Masonry and Theosophy, Jesus of Nazareth, Mystery Religions and Christianity, The Ethical Human Perfection of Christ, Communion of Saints, The Validity of the Anglican Ordinations. The Preparation for Justification According to the Symbols of the Churches**, and many more in various departments of Theology. Dr. Trembelas is a living witness that the Greek Orthodox Church, far from being "an empty shell," as some Western Theologians, without any justifiable reasons, have libeled her, is very much alive, proclaiming the gospel of Christ and the salvation it offers amidst innumerable vicissitudes.

The study under analysis belongs to Dr. Trembelas's minor works. The author states the purpose of the book in the prologue. In a conference of Christian Orthodox Theology which took place in Athens in 1937, among other problems, that of the inspiration of the Scriptures became a subject of discussion. Dr. Trembelas's purpose is "to present the orthodox point of view as it is found in the teaching of the Fathers, which appear to be unanimous and embody the second source of Divine Revelation, the Sacred Tradition." The challenge for the study was given by the Rev. Dr. E. Antoniades, Professor at the School of Theology, University of Athens, who expounded a theory greatly influenced by German rationalism. Dr. Trembelas, though he dwells

at length on the subject as it appears in the primitive church, makes a thorough survey of modern and previous views on the subject.

A. TERMINOLOGY AND DEFINITION

In this short chapter the author deals with the term Theopneustia which is derived from the word Theopneustos. He believes that the term belongs to the Hellenistic language. It is used once by St. Paul 2 Tim. 3:16. The terms épinoia tou theóu and, apo tou theou found in earlier or later writers (Josephos, against Apion 1:7. Justin, 12 Migne 6,264 etc.) are not acceptable on the ground that they tend to imply general inspiration, as in Origen, Kellos IV, 30 Migne 11, 1073, etc. Therefore the term "Inspiration" derived from the Latin "inspiratio" is not the correct one. It seems to me that writers of theology, in English would do well to abandon this ambiguous term in favor of theopneustia. (See also "Theopneustia — The Plenary Inspiration of the Holy Scriptures" by L. Gausen, tr. by David Scott's p. 24). Dr. Trembelas accepts Theopneustia as "a special term denoting the intervention and the action of the Holy Spirit at the time of the writing of the Scriptures" although in later years some gave this term a general meaning. On the basis of the special meaning of the term he concludes the definition as follows: "Theopneustia is the extraordinary and supernatural action of the Holy Spirit upon the holy authors of the Bible. By this action the Spirit elevates the personalities of the authors and enables them to write the Bible under His direction so that in effect the Bible constitutes the real and essential written word of God" (p. 7).

B. SOURCES OF THE TEACHING ABOUT THEOPNEUSTIA

In the chapter the author declares that the Christian teaching of Theopneustia, having its roots in the Old Testament, has been inherited to some extent from Jewish Theology. The Talmud, teaching different grades of Theopneustia, accepts as of divine origin only the law. The author says that the Talmud does not seem to teach that the prophets (as distinguished from Moses) were used as unconscious means of the Holy Spirit, as was the case with the Alexandrian Judaism. The main representative of the latter school is Philo whom the author quotes extensively. His conclusion is that Philo and his Alexandrian contemporaries were influenced by principles of pagan and eastern religions, such as the Greek conception of enthusiasm and the mania of the seers.

C. THE TEACHING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

The author mentions only two evidences, i. e., 2 Tim. 3:16 and 2 Pet. 1, 19-21. Here regarding the problem whether the verb eimi should be understood to precede or follow the term theopneustos, the author accepts the opinions of the Fathers Athanasius, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom and Theophylactus against the opinion supported by the Syriac translation of the Peshitta, Jerome and Luther. In the first case the verb modifying theopneustos denotes that the action of the theopneustia is extended to all the scriptures and not to only parts of it as the second possibility would indicate.

Dealing with the second verse (2 Pet. 1:20-21) the author states his belief that it contains clear evidence that the prophets and the writers of the

Scriptures were under the influence, direction and power of the spirit and he supports his position with these quotations, Ex. 34:27, Dent. 31:19, Isaiah 8:1, Isaiah 30:8, Jeremiah 36:2, Ezekiel 24:2.

For indirect evidence the author quotes many passages of both the New and the Old Testaments (Joshua 1:8, 24:26, Ps. 1:2, John 10:35, Mat. 15:7, Mat. 22:4 3 Act. 2:17, Heb. 1:5, 13). It is of significance to note, the author says, the promises Christ made to his Apostles, that the Holy Spirit would come and enable them to bear witness Mat. 10:20, Luke 24:48,49, Act. 1:8). Paul claims that he was illuminated through a special revelation (1 Cor. 9:1, Gal. 1:16). Trembelas also mentions that Paul demanded or asked that the Christians should show the same respect for the unwritten word as for the written (2 Thes. 2:13-15). Paul assured his Christians that his Kerygma was the true word of God (1 Thes. 2:13) and that what he wrote to them were "Commandments of the Lord" (1 Cor. 14:37).

D. THE NATURE OF THEOPNEUSTIA

In this chapter the author examines the various theories about the nature of the Theopneustia, namely the mechanical (Philo, Athenagoras, Melanchthon, Chemnitz, Hollar, Calov, etc.), the naturalistic (Canus, Simon and especially Schleiermacher), and the ethical, which was introduced by Selnecker and the Dynamic.

a. In the examination of the **Mechanical Theory**, according to which the writers became blind organs of the divine will, the author, applying criticism and Biblical evidence to support his thesis, states that this theory was not accepted by the early church and especially by the Fathers. He disagrees with Cremer who declared that the early apologists adhered to this view, although he admits that Athenagoras was an exception in this matter (p. 18).

b. The **Naturalistic Theory** was developed in order to refute the previous one. But its exponents reached the other extreme according to which the emphasis is on the author and not on the books of the Bible. Because of their relation to Christ and from their enthusiasm they were able to write the books of the Bible.

But L. Gaußen rightly observes "that this miraculous operation of the Holy Ghost had not the sacred writers themselves for its object — for these were only his instruments, and were soon to pass away: but that its objects were the holy books themselves, which were destined to reveal from age to age, to the church, the counsels of God, and which were never to pass away" Ibid. p. 24. On an analogous basis Dr. Trembelas refuting the naturalistic theory, states that it is contrary to the Catholic opinion of the early church. To support this argument he quotes extensively Clement of Rome, Justin, Origen, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Chrysostom, Theodoretus, Augustine and various confessions of a later age. It is not only the Orthodox Catholic (Greek) church which sharply disagrees with this theory but the Protestant and the Roman Catholic Churches as well.

c. The **Ethical Theory** was introduced by Selnecker and in many respects it resembles the previous one. The faithful have received an illumination from God. But this illumination varies among them. The Apostles were the ones with the highest degree of it and through this illumination they perceived the

teaching about the Kingdom of God, etc. Such an interpretation however, equates the writers of the Bible with the other Christians and diminishes the character of the Bible as the unique Book among all the books of world literature. The fact that the Apostles and writers had received special grace from God is evident throughout the Bible (John 14:26, 1 Co. 12:4, 7,11, Acts 15:30, etc.) It was this special work of the Holy Spirit that enabled them to write the word of God.

d. The Dynamic Theory: 1. This theory embodies the teaching of the Orthodox Church and was expounded by the early fathers. The author states that according to this theory, "Theopneustia is distinguished from that condition described in the Bible as photismos ton piston — the illumination of the faithful, although, even this gift was given to the Apostles in the highest degree. According to this theory, theopneustia is the penetration of the Holy Spirit into the personality of the writers and the elevation of it without destroying the independence of the author or his ability to act as an individual.

2. This theory was expounded by Origen whom the author quotes (Origen, Kelsos VII, 4 Migne 11, 1425) and was developed by Theodoreetus, Chrysostom, Augustine, Cyril of Alexandria, etc.

3. The author in this subdivision states that theopneustia being such in its nature, is closely related to divine revelation, but we should not identify them as one (pp. 32-33). A confusion of theopneustia and revelation led some Protestants to the exposition of the mechanical theory to such an extent that Calov thought of theopneustia as a form of revelation. For this information the author quotes Cremer. It was Thomas Aquinas and later on Calixtus, Episcopius and Grotius who introduced a distinction between them.

But if they are distinct actions, then what is divine revelation? The author defines revelation as "that action of the living God by which He makes known the mysteries of his plan and his nature to his rational creatures, and reveals to man his will and his being according to their limited mind" (p. 34). The revelation objectively examined can be defined as phanerosis "manifestation." (John 9:3; Rom. 1:19; Rom. 3:21; Rom. 14:25, etc.), while subjectively examined it would be considered as apocalypsis (Luk. 10:21; Rom. 14:24, 1 Co. 2:10; Gal. 1:16 etc.)

Following, the author writes about the relationship between revelation and theopneustia. Accepting divine revelation as stated before, the author agrees with Van Costerzee that "we can think about revelation, under its dual view as phanerosis and as apocalypsis without the attendance of a theopneustos written or oral word. However, probably we cannot think about theopneustia in the written or the oral word, if there does not take place a revelation, objective and at the same time subjective."

To support this view, the author defers to Paul, who first received the revelation and afterwards he preached about the gospel he received through it. This view was expressed by Chrysostom whom the author quotes (Isaiah 2, 1, Migne 56,27). It is evident then that from the standpoint of time, the revelation to the prophets and the apostles stands apart from the narration of the things revealed to them under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. In addition the author states, "the Scripture is not the revelation itself, but the written source through which and in conjunction with the unwritten source,

we know the revelation." Therefore, the divine revelation is related closely to the sacred Scripture but at the same time is distinguished from it.

The author goes on to examine the consequences of the confusion between "Theopneustia" and "Revelation." The main result of this confusion is the opinion "that the theopneustia was a temporary condition which took place extraordinarily in the life of the Apostles as on the day of Pentecost, and that it was a subsequent supervision of the Holy Spirit that guided the writers in the writing of the Scriptures." Especially the opinion that "we can attribute only supervision of the Holy Spirit to the authors of the New Testament." (E. Antoniades, About the Problem of the Theopneustia of the Holy Scripture, Athens 1937, pp. 30-41).

For the refutation of these opinions the author invokes the testimony of the Scriptures according to which esoteric revelation did not happen only once. This is indicated in the verses Act. 1:10-17, Gal. 1:16, 2, Co. 12:7. The author agrees, that the common characteristic of the revelation, by which something new and creative is given, has value for the objective or exoteric revelation but not always for the subjective or esoteric.

4. The distinction between theopneustia and supervision: During the years that the mechanical theory about theopneustia prevailed, and because of the confusion about theopneustia and esoteric revelation, the Roman Catholic, Holden and Feilmoser, the Protestant Calixtus and the Greek Orthodox Kondogonos, Lykourgos and Rossis expounded the distinction between theopneustia and supervision. Under the aforementioned circumstances it was a good distinction, for it secured a partial self-action on the part of the writers. But accepting the distinction between revelation and theopneustia and recognizing the fact that in theopneustia the personality of the authors was not abolished but on the contrary is elevated, evidently the distinction between theopneustia and epistasia (supervision) is superfluous.

The author states however that the distinction can still be accepted under one presupposition only: That term "epistasia" shall be understood always as energetic and positive and not merely as negative, according to which the supervising spirit intervenes only when the author is to be protected from error. Such an opinion is not only groundless but to be rejected for many reasons. (1) it nullifies the historical events of the Scriptures. But the Bible is a sum of harmonious historical events. The character of the Bible is historical and all the revelation was given under a historical form. (2) It implies lapses in the operation of theopneustia in the persons involved. But this, expounded by Theodore of Mopsouestia, was condemned by the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553 A. D.) and is unknown to the primitive church and especially to the Fathers Athanasios, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Narianzos and Cyril of Alexandria, who testified to the contrary.

5. Degrees of Theopneustia. The difference in degree of the theopneustia in the Scriptures, is not an indication that there is a distinction between theopneustia and supervision, nor does it imply lapses in the action of the Holy Spirit in the writing of the Bible, as the acceptance of the negative meaning of supervision (epistasia) suggests. The difference in degree is not qualitative but quantitative. It is due to the progressive development of revelation. Also it is due the difference of the effusion and the action of the Holy Spirit during

e years of the Old Covenant and those of the New. The Holy Spirit acted in different way upon the Prophets and in another upon the Apostles and the writers of the New Testament.

While in the Old Testament the spirit seemed to be coming from outside, in the New Testament it appears to be acting from within. The indwelling of the Holy Spirit is more evident here than in the case of the prophets. It is so because the Holy Spirit dwells in the church. Hence, the special gift of theopneustia though it comes from the same spirit it acts in different ways in the prophets and the apostles.

The difference of theopneustia depends also on the degree to which the spirit was given to each one of its organs according to their receptivity and their analogous need as is indicated in 1 Cor. 12:4, 7, 11. (pp. 47-48).

The author summarizing his opinions on the nature of theopneustia states, that it can be defined as "special movement of the Holy Spirit in order to fill and move the writers; as an influence upon them; as an enlightenment of their mind; as an exaltation of their abilities." In concluding this chapter the author reminds us that theopneustia ordinarily presupposes writers who know the truth of what they will write, independently of the source of their knowledge, whether by revelation or natural ways.

Again here the author invokes a number of the Fathers and the early writers: Athanasios, Justin, Theophilos, Chrysostom, Ippolytos, Gregory of Nyssa whom he quotes extensively.

EXTENSION OF THEOPNEUSTIA

a. The Stated Views

1. The Teaching of the Fathers:

"It is a unanimous teaching of the Fathers that the theopneustia is extended to all the Scripture, including the greeting or the sections in which the authors express their own opinions." This is the opening statement of Dr. Trembelas. He supports it by adding that this statement is drawn not only from their comments on the verse "All scripture is given by theopneustia from God" 1 Tim. 3:16 but from innumerable other proclamations found in their writings. He quotes 28 passages from Origen, Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Narianzos, Ambrose, Jerome and Augustine.

2. Later Views:

The author opens this subdivision by explaining that the view of the Fathers should not be misunderstood as leading to the mechanical theory which accepts the Bible as a book written under the direct dictation of the Holy Spirit. The Fathers meant that "not word by word was the spirit giving the writers that which was to be said... but putting in their minds all the meaning, of it, each proclaimed it as he could" as Theodore of Heracleias puts it.

After dealing with the word by word theory of the Protestant theology of the 17th century, the author deals with the view according to which theopneustia is extended to the purely religious matters ((Holden) or to the matters of faith and ethics (Lenormant, Newman, Luther, Calvin, Van Costerzee, Boulgaris, Balanos, etc.)

b. The True View

1. The theanthropic character of the Bible. The truth about the extension of theopneustia is found between the two aforementioned theories. Dr. Trembelas declares that in the Bible we find imperfections, natural to humanity, but we do not find real errors. "The Bible written by men, for men, and in a human manner bears the divine and the human characteristics. The divine side includes the essential content — the saving truth, while the human makes the garment with which the divine truth is dressed. The imperfections, such as the use of inappropriate words or solecisms, do not influence the theopneustos thought."

Dr. Trembelas goes on to show that these and other imperfections do not change the meaning and in one way diminish the theopneustia of the Bible. They are related to the exterior form and must be examined under the historical light of the era in which they belong.

The conclusion of this most interesting subdivision is that "theopneustia is extended even to those parts of the scripture which might come into contradiction with contemporary natural sciences. It is so because theopneustia embraces not only the outer garment under which the writers present some superior truth to their contemporaries in their own familiar expressions, but also the truth is hidden under this earthen shell" (p. 67). Therefore the proposition "all scripture is theopneustos" is accepted without any reservations as the whole truth.

The view that "theopneustia in the scripture is extended only to the dogmatical and ethical truths" is unacceptable, for it leads to the other view that the Bible is a common book. By what criteria then would it be determined which parts of the Bible were written by Theopneustia? This view presents a number of questions which invalidate it.

In a superb summary the author states that: The Scripture, teaching the saving religious truth interwoven with the historical events of revelation... is theopneustos in all its content as is determined by the real intention and thought of the authors.

c. Verbal theopneustia. Here Dr. Trembelas examines the views which in one way or another accept the verbal or word by word theopneustia. These opinions can be classified in four theories, three of which do not seem to carry any weight. The fourth one embraces the opinions of Chrysostomos Papadopoulos, Archbishop of Greece and a great theologian, Van Costerzee and the ancient Fathers. According to this, there is a verbal theopneustia, different from that of the 16th and 17th centuries. The words were not dictated by the Holy Spirit to the authors nor revealed to them. The authors were under the constant effect of the inspiring impetus but they could choose their own words.

Dr. Trembelas, who stated his own position in the previous view, examines this one sympathetically.

F. CRITERIA OF THEOPNEUSTIA

To validate and recognize the theopneustia of a book, there are two minds of criteria — internal and external. Internal are those that arise from the text and external those that are based on proofs outside of the text. The internal or esoteric criteria are based on the unity of the books of the Scriptures

spite the fact that centuries separate them and that they were written under different circumstances. Dr. Trembelas likens the Bible to a body with many parts all of which are animated by the same spirit and one thought.

A more serious criterion is the jnevmatiki haris — the spiritual grace (heidoreetus) which is found in and identifies each book in the mind and heart of the reader. It is the same grace called by the Protestant of the 17th century "testimonium Spiritus Sancti."

A third criterion is the witness that each bears. When this witness is forgotten the book becomes an exoteric criterion. Such is the witness of Christ the Apostles about the prophets, the law or the psalms. This criterion Dr. Trembelas states should be used along with the previous two and the final one, the ecclesiastical authority. From the ecclesiastical authority we find whether the books of the Bible have the esoteric criteria which determine their theopneustia. While a member of the church can err in regards to the theopneustia or the meaning of a passage, the ecclesiastical conscience cannot err for the church is led by the Holy Spirit and embraces the experience of many.

THEOPNEUSTIA AND CRITIQUE OF THE BIBLE

In this final chapter, Dr. Trembelas raises the question whether criticism of the Bible is permitted, once faith in the theopneustia has been established. How can we criticize the Bible which is the word of God? But the Bible is not exclusively a divine book. It was written by men for men and bears a theanthropic character. It occupies a position in the literature of the world and it cannot be exempted from the rules of criticism. In addition, true criticism is essentially a study of the Bible through the methods of scientific research. It is a study without prejudice and with objectivity; a study untempered with the help of all the means — linguistics and philology, comparative religion and history — set before the scholar of the Bible.

Dr. Trembelas points out that criticism is not only permissible but is a just demand of our spirit. An impartial and objective criticism leads to the disport and the elevation of the authority of the Bible. Then he examines the two schools of criticism, the physiocratic and school of Strack, and concludes in agreement with Gautier that the purpose of criticism should be the pursuit of the restoration of the truth.

In regards to the various texts, Dr. Trembelas states that it is the duty of the church to seek the acquisition of the best text possible. This was the attitude of the early church as is indicated by the critical works of Origen, Eusebius and Lucianus. "The church has no reason to reject even the literary, the historical criticism of the text, in order to determine the basic problems of the genesis, the unity, the integrity, the genuineness and the historical value of the sacred books." (p. 79).

EVALUATION

Dr. Trembelas has written a massive and scholarly work. He has built his thesis in a masterly and architectural way. Though it includes only eight pages, it is exhaustive, profound and gives an answer to all questions pertaining to the problem of theopneustia. Its special merit lies in the fact that he has unearthed the views of the primitive church and the first inter-

preters of christianity. He sets forth a good example. Every time the church faces a problem, it would be wise to return to the Fathers and see what they have to say. He examines a great number of views, nevertheless he retains his own which bear the characteristics of conservatism and liberalism without adopting either one. He follows rather the middle of the road in his approach to this decisive matter. He is logical and entirely Biblical.

Rev. Demetrios J. Constantelos



Cyril Mango, **THE HOMILIES OF PHOTIUS PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE: ENGLISH TRANSLATION, INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY (DUMBARTON OAKS STUDIES III)**. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1958, pp. 327. \$ 6.00.

The publication of this volume is a significant event. This marks the first time that the homilies of this great and controversial Patriarch of the Byzantine Orthodox Church (often accused of being the chief instigator of the schism of the Eastern and Western Churches in the 9th century) have ever been translated into a modern language. Eighteen of these homilies have been preserved but apparently the scarcity of the Greek text and the difficulty of Photius' Byzantine Greek style have contributed definitely to the neglect of these important documents by modern historians and scholars. Now there can be no excuse as far as the availability of these documents is concerned. Cyril Mango, Lecturer in Byzantine Archaeology at Dumbarton Oaks, has rendered these eighteen sermons into clear, precise English with an introduction, rich notes and comments, and the latest bibliographical references.

Though the preserved homilies contain not a single reference to the Roman Papacy, whose avowed opponent Photius has presumably long been depicted as being, they do reveal that Photius was an able preacher, a churchman, theologian, and historian of the highest order, as well as a stalwart defender of icons and adversary of iconoclasm.

Of particular interest to modern readers will be the two sermons (Homilies III,IV) on the Russian attack on Constantinople, which are the documents believed to be the earliest known preserved pieces of evidence concerning the Russian nation. Also of special interest is Homily XVII on the Image of the Virgin in St. Sophia and Homily XVIII on the Council of 867, which is the only extant document pertaining to this Council. The other sermons deal with the beginning of Lent (I), Good Friday (II, VI), the Annunciation (V, VII), Palm Sunday (VII!), the Birth of the Virgin (IX), the inauguration of a Church in the Palace (X), Holy Saturday (XI,XII), Tyrophagy Week (XIII,XIV), and the Arian heresy (XV, XVI).

There is a wealth of historical, art-historical, theological and moral information contained in these sermons of Patriarch Photius and since they are homilies, they need to be read with great care and thought in order to yield the necessary appreciation. The reader will be grateful to Dr. Cyril Mango for his translation of the difficult but original Greek text as well as for the

wealth of scholarship that Dr. Mango has brought to bear in the rendering and publication of his translation. There can be no doubt that this translation and English edition of Photius' homilies will become standard for a long time to come, bringing within the reach of a much wider audience the writings of a very significant figure in Byzantine history, theology, and literature.

John E. Rexine



Periodicals

"Bulletin of Orthodox Christian Education" (Published semi-annually by the Orthodox Christian Education Commission) Vol. III, No. 1, Winter Issue, 1959. Report on the Pittsburgh Conference of the Orthodox Christian Education Commission — Training of Sunday School Teachers in the Greek Orthodox Church, by X. Diamont, The Priest and the Teacher, by Rev. A. Schmemann, A Teacher's Vocation, By Sophie Koulomzin, Suggested book list for a Sunday School Teacher's Library. Book reviews by Annette Milkovich.



The Seminary

Ordinations: On April 25, Father Alexis Pavlovich was ordained to the Holy Priesthood by His Grace, Archbishop Benjamin of Pittsburgh and West Virginia.

Faculty Activities: Prof. N. Arseniev delivered 13 lectures on "Greek Culture and Early Christianity" at the Adult Education Centers in Glen Head, L. I. and Roslyn, L. I. On March 12, he spoke on the Problem of Reunion at Fordham University, N. Y. City. On April 26, he spoke on "The Religious Life of the Eastern Orthodox Church" at the Youth Association of the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church; on May 10 on "The Spiritual Background of Russian Culture" at the Ukrainian Circle in Woodhaven, N. Y. He published two books: "Transfiguration of the World" (225 pp in Russian) and "Studies in Russian Cultural Tradition" (297 pp in Russian) as well as two pamphlets — "A. S. Khomiakov" and "Die Kultur des Russischen."

Fr. Alexander Schmemann was appointed Lecturer on Eastern Orthodoxy at Union Theological Seminary for the academic year 1959-60. On February 2, he lectured on the "History of the Russian Church" at the Metropolitan District FROC; on February 8, on "The Principles of Orthodox Education" at the Sunday School Teachers Association in Waterbury, Conn.; on March 6, on Pasternak's "Doctor Zhivago" at the O. C. F., Columbia University; on March 9, on "The Ministry and Sacraments" at the Union Theolo-

gical Seminary; on April 3, on "Church Unity and the Vatican" at the Associated Church Press Convention, N. Y. C.; April 13, on "The Holy Orders" at the Metropolitan District FROC; on April 16, on "Doctor Zhivago" at George Washington University, Washington D. C.; April 19, on "The Ecumenical Council" at Detroit; May 8, on "The Orthodox Church and the Roman Announcement" at O. C. F., Colymbia University; May 13, on "Orthodoxy as a Way of Life" at the Spring Religious Conference, Univ. of Pittsburgh; May 15, on "The Sacrament of Holy Matrimony" at Fordham University, N. Y. C. He also spoke at the Annual Conference of the U. S. conference for the World Council of Churches and the Winter Theological Conference of the New England Interseminary Momement in Hartford, Conn. He is the Retreat Master at the Fourth Annual Eastern Orthodox Retreat of the U. S. Air Force in Berchtesgaden, Germany and presented a paper on "The Evolution of the Byzantine Rites of Ordinations" at the Sixth Liturgical Conference at St. Sergius Academy in Paris.

Prof. A. Bogolepov's new book "The Church under Communism" appeared in Russian, published by the Munich Institute for the Study of the U. S. S. R.

Prof. S. S. Verkhovsky gave a course of lectures on "The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity" at the New York Society of Friends of St. Sergius Academy. He is a member of the General Pre-Sobor Commission of the Russian Orthodox Church in America.

Prof. V. Kesich spoke on Dec. 1, on the "Ecumenical Councils" at the Metropolitan District, FROC (Religious Education Program).

Prof. D. Grigorieff was appointed Assistant Professor at the Slavic Department, Columbia University.

In the last quarter Father Schneirla spoke for the Columbia University Protestant advisership on "The Orthodox Tradition," addressed the Rutgers University Orthodox Student Fellowship on "An Orthodox Response to the proposed Oecumenical Council," initiated a series of lectures at St. George's (Syrian) parish in Boston with a lecture, "Major religious ideas in the Old Testament," and participated in a discussion with Canon E. N. West of the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine, on "Orthodox and Anglican Relations," for the OCF at Columbia University.

The Student Body: Class of 1959: The following students are completing the course of studies at the Seminary this year: Rev. Peter Sayama, (Japanese Orthodox Church), Peter Melnik (Russian Orthodox Church), Rev. Basil Nagosky (Russian Orthodox Church), Andrew Kokjak (Russian Orthodox Church), Keith McKean (Russian Orthodox Church), Anatol Rozanovich (Russian Orthodox Church), Alexander Micich (Serbian Orthodox Church), George Corey (Syrian Orthodox Church) and Ernest Tsionis (Albanian Orthodox Church).

